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TIME
VOL. 192, NO. 1 | 2018

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Photograph by Adam Ferguson for TIME

ON THE COVER: *TIME photo-illustration*

COVER IMAGES: GIRL: JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: THIERRY CHARLIER—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; OLIVIER DOULIERY—POOL/GETTY IMAGES

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE RISKIEST SHOW ON EARTH During the recent summit between President Trump and North Korea's Kim Jong Un, CBS News' Ed O'Keefe tweeted that, at a photo-op, Trump asked TIME White House correspondent Brian Bennett if he was going to end up on the magazine's cover. "It's entirely possible," Bennett responded. The June 25 cover did feature both leaders, though Ernestine Kehl of New Philadelphia, Ohio, wrote that the story left her feeling like Kim was "the big winner" and should have been shown in a larger size than Trump—and Mark Del Mauro of Danville, N.J., worried that such coverage of Trump "not only emboldens his behavior but seems to glorify it." But Ben Goggins of Tybee Island, Ga., said the President's vow to end military exercises in South Korea was "the first policy of Trump's that I have agreed with." Meanwhile, Larry G. McClung of Lincoln, Neb., joked that the meeting was not only historic, but also "histrionic."

'Freakiest show on Earth.'

@MONELLOMILO, on Twitter

WORDS TO LIVE BY Readers said they could relate to Ruddy Roye's photos of and interviews with black fathers raising sons in America, which appeared in the same issue with an introduction by Eddie S. Glaude Jr. Becky Balestri of Omaha noted that she worried her mixed-race grandson would have "similar" experiences with the racial profiling described in the piece, but was reminded that "how [his] father teaches him will make a difference." Judith M. Barzilay, a federal judge in Williamsburg, Va., wrote, "The humanity of each of these families came shining through ... We all need more articles like this."

'Thank you ... for this necessary and thoughtful piece.'

@DR_ANNIEELLIS, on Twitter

BEHIND THE COVER The photo-illustration on this week's cover is based on an image that quickly became a symbol of the human cost of the Trump Administration's immigration-policy crackdown: John Moore's photograph of a 2-year-old Honduran girl crying as a U.S. border patrol agent pats down her mother. "All I wanted to do was pick her up," the Pulitzer Prize–winning photographer, who has covered the border for many years, told TIME. For more, visit **time.com/cover-photo**

PUMP PRIMER With U.S. gas prices hitting their highest point since 2014, TIME Labs crunched the numbers to find out how much more individual drivers are likely to spend on gas this year, depending on their car's make and model. Below are the increases for America's most popular cars; see how much more you'll spend at **time.com/gas-2018**

2017 sales rank	Car	M.P.G.	2017 gas cost	2018 gas cost	Annual increase
1	Ford F-Series	22	$1,482	$1,800	$319
2	Chevrolet Silverado	19	$1,716	$2,085	$369
3	Ram Pickup	17	$1,918	$2,330	$412

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In the Brief (June 25), we misstated the rate at which Antarctica is losing ice per year. It is at a rate of more than 200 billion tons per year.

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JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES

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For the Record

‘He speaks and his people sit up at attention. I want my people to do the same.’

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, in a Fox News interview following his summit with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un; he later said that he was being sarcastic

3

Number of votes cast for incumbent Bruce Lorenz in the Ruso, N.D., mayoral race; he was re-elected unanimously

‘But my emails.’

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S. Secretary of State, tweeting on the June 14 Department of Justice inspector general’s report, which found that former FBI head James Comey used personal email for official business; Comey raised similar concerns about Clinton’s email use during her 2016 presidential campaign

‘I didn’t want people to think that you could give in to fear.’

STEVE SCALISE (R., LA.), majority whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, on returning to play in the annual charity congressional baseball game after he was shot while practicing for last year’s outing; Democrats beat the Republicans 21-5

£3,500

The price—equivalent to roughly $4,650—of a viscose replica of Meghan Markle’s silk wedding-reception dress; designer Stella McCartney announced plans to make 46 copies of the dress to mark the opening of a new store

‘POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF MASS JUMPING.’

INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGIC AND ATMOSPHERIC INVESTIGATIONS, an organization in Mexico, explaining the cause of the “artificial earthquake” that was registered by its sensors on June 17, right after Mexico scored the goal that led to an upset victory over Germany in the World Cup

Emmanuel Macron
French leader slammed for spending $58,000 on china plates

Napoleon
Hat worn by the French leader sold for almost $400,000

gaming disorder

A mental-health condition added to the new edition of the World Health Organization’s disease-classification manual; it’s characterized by a pattern of prioritizing online games or video games to the point of “significant impairment in personal, family, social, educational, occupational or other important areas of functioning”

30

Length, in days, of the prison sentence received by a neighbor of U.S. Senator Rand Paul (R., Ky.), who tackled the politician and broke his ribs during a dispute over yard debris last year

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; NEW YORK TIMES; USA TODAY

The Brief

TARIFF TARGET Shipping containers wait at the Yangshan Deep Water Port in Shanghai on April 24

INSIDE

A JAILED KURDISH LAWMAKER COULD CHANGE THE COURSE OF TURKISH POLITICS

MADAGASCAR FACES THE CONSEQUENCES OF SKY-HIGH VANILLA PRICES

RECORD-BREAKING ASTRONAUT PEGGY WHITSON IS HANGING UP HER SPACESUIT

POLITICS

A China trade war could escalate quickly

By Justin Worland

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S LOOMING TRADE WAR with China ratcheted up so quickly, you might have missed it. On June 15, Trump announced tariffs on $50 billion worth of Chinese imports. Within minutes, China responded in kind, targeting a range of goods from soybeans to electric vehicles, prompting Trump three days later to order his trade office to find an additional $200 billion worth of Chinese goods to target. Pre-emptively, Trump said he would be willing to bring the total value of Chinese goods targeted for tariffs to $450 billion.

"We have to," Trump told reporters as he rolled out the initial round. "We've been treated very unfairly."

For Trump, who has asserted that trade wars are "easy to win," the escalating tariffs represent the fulfillment of a campaign promise to crack down on Beijing and reduce the U.S. trade deficit in order to support American jobs. But economists, business leaders and trade experts on both sides of the aisle have cried foul, arguing that trade wars are a dangerous game that could hurt the economy at home and globally.

The prospect of a trade war is particularly dangerous when it comes to China, the U.S.'s largest goods-trading partner. Products from the country are integrated into global supply chains, and the U.S. sends it billions of dollars' worth of agricultural products, vehicles and machinery each year. That position—along with the authoritarian nature of its political system—gives China significant leverage to stay the course in any trade war.

"China has a fairly predictable pattern of responding immediately and with pretty stiff tariffs," says Ron Kirk, who was the U.S. Trade Representative under President Obama. "Whenever you get in this tit-for-tat escalation and retaliations, it generally is not good."

That's not to say Trump's tariffs were unprovoked. His June 15 announcement came in response to a months-long investigation into Chinese trade practices that have been widely condemned as unfair. Of particular concern, in a world where the U.S. often relies on brainpower to outweigh declining manufacturing, is the practice of forcing American companies to share trade secrets in order to do business. "China seeks to acquire the crown jewels of American technology," says Peter Navarro, a White House trade adviser. "This is the kind of thing that needs to be addressed."

Most economists generally say tariffs are the wrong way to tackle the issue and instead advocate for bringing China to the table with pressure from free-trade deals like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, from which Trump withdrew the U.S. last year. The decisive rollout of this latest set of actions left little opportunity for discussion or compromise, and the fast-moving nature of the back-and-forth means it will be difficult to halt. Once-promising negotiations for a brokered truce with China have all but stopped—Navarro says, "Our phone lines are open"—and trade officials are stretched thin dealing with other fights with Canada, Mexico and a raft of European countries.

"We have a front opened up on the E.U., China and NAFTA," says Carlos Gutierrez, the U.S. Secretary of Commerce under George W. Bush and chair of the Albright Stonebridge Group. "That's pretty much the world's economy right there."

Ticking trade bomb

Global trade tensions escalated quickly this month:

JUNE 15
Trump targets China
The White House says $50 billion in Chinese goods to be targeted with tariffs

JUNE 15
China reacts swiftly
Beijing announces tariffs on $50 billion in goods from politically sensitive industries like Florida orange juice

JUNE 18
Trump escalates
The White House says Trump would be willing to impose tariffs on as much as $450 billion in Chinese imports

JUNE 19
White House calls China a security threat
The White House releases a report saying China's trade policies threaten U.S. "economic and national security"

YOU MAY NOT HAVE FELT the pinch of the trade war yet, but experts say that if Trump continues as promised, large swaths of the American public will get hit. To understand the effects of tariffs, look no further than washing machines and solar panels, for which Trump announced tariffs in January. The price of laundry equipment has spiked 17% over the past three months after years of decline, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data. And more than $2.5 billion in U.S. solar projects have been scrapped thanks to the tariffs, according to a Reuters analysis.

The new retaliatory tariffs announced by Beijing take aim at $50 billion in goods from industries in politically sensitive places: soybeans from Iowa, autos from the Rust Belt and orange juice from Florida. People in those swing states are taking notice. "If we lose trade to China, our neighbors to the south will be glad to take up that trade," says John Heisdorffer, an Iowa farmer and the president of the American Soybean Association.

Meanwhile, markets have responded poorly to Trump's tariffs play, dipping repeatedly with new announcements. Even an internal assessment from the White House Council of Economic Advisers, the New York *Times* reported, found that Trump's trade agenda would hurt the U.S. economy. In the meantime, tax cuts and spending have exacerbated the trade deficit, which Trump ostensibly hopes to reduce—although his former adviser Gary Cohn said at a recent Washington *Post* event that "a trade deficit doesn't matter" and can even be "helpful to our economy."

But Trump has remained determined to carry out his trade agenda, in contrast to his vacillations on other issues. And he is counting on the tough-on-China play to deliver a win for his base and give Republicans a boost in the midterm elections. As he waits on the political effects to play out in November, the question is whether the economic effects will be felt by then too. □

PREVIOUS PAGE: ALY SONG—REUTERS; OPPOSITE PAGE: MAX MUMBY—INDIGO/GETTY IMAGES

FAMILY OUTING Meghan Markle, Duchess of Sussex, stepped out with Queen Elizabeth II on June 14 for her first official engagement without Prince Harry by her side. The pair traveled by royal train to the opening of the new Mersey Gateway Bridge in Cheshire, northwestern England.

THE BULLETIN

A jailed Kurdish kingmaker could decide Turkey's future

IN THE RACE FOR TURKEY'S PRESIDENCY, a candidate is entitled to 20 minutes of television time—even, it turns out, from prison. In what state media are calling a "first in the history of democracy," Kurdish candidate Selahattin Demirtas, who was arrested during the crackdown that followed a failed military coup in 2016, gave a speech from his cell on June 17. Demirtas has little chance of winning, but his pro-Kurdish party could hold the key to the parliament; he implored voters to use the June 24 elections to keep Turkey from turning into a "one-man regime" under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Turkish state media called Demirtas' speech a 'first in the history of democracy'

AGAINST THE LAW After the attempted coup, Erdogan put into effect a state of emergency, purged more than 150,000 public officials and arrested more than a dozen opposition lawmakers. Demirtas, who has been a legislator since 2007, was accused of spreading propaganda for Kurdish insurgents and sent to prison. But he claims he was jailed on spurious charges because Erdogan fears him. "He used the fear of violence as a weapon," Demirtas said in a 2015 interview with TIME, before his arrest. "This is how he rallied society around himself."

PIVOTAL MOMENT Demirtas needs to persuade 10% of voters to back his party in the parliamentary elections, which run at the same time as the presidential election. That's the legal threshold for lawmakers to take their seats, and support hovers around that number nationally, according to polls. Those seats will likely decide whether Erdogan's party gets a majority.

POWER PLAY If Demirtas succeeds, that could disrupt Erdogan's plans far beyond election day. A hung parliament would make it difficult to exercise the sweeping powers that a constitutional referendum last year secured for the next President. Those powers—to issue decrees, appoint ministers, decide the budget and control security—would make Erdogan an even more authoritarian leader than he is already. Whether he succeeds could now hinge on a man his government jailed years ago. —BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

Displacements hit record high in 2017

More people were displaced last year than in any other year on record, according to a June 19 report by the U.N. Refugee Agency. **Approximately 16.2 million people had to flee their homes because of war, violence or persecution,** while 5 million returned. The U.N. says 1 in 110 people is now a refugee, an asylum seeker or internally displaced.

22 hurt, 1 killed in N.J. shooting

A fight among gang members at an arts festival in Trenton, N.J., **escalated into a mass shooting** on June 17. Seventeen people were shot, and the rest were hurt by being trampled. One suspect was killed at the scene, and police charged two others with weapons offenses.

Right-wing populist to lead Colombia

Iván Duque, a conservative lawyer, will be Colombia's next President, after winning the **first elections since the country's 2016 peace deal** with the rebel group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. Duque, who beat leftist Gustavo Petro with 54% of the vote, is a fierce critic of that deal.

NEWS TICKER

Supreme Court mum on partisan districting

The Supreme Court on June 18 rejected two claims in which people argued that **partisan gerrymandering by states violated the Constitution.** Avoiding the central question, the court ruled that a Wisconsin challenger failed to show direct harm and that one from Maryland had waited too long to sue.

Audi CEO arrested in Germany

The CEO of German carmaker Audi, Rupert Stadler, was detained by Munich prosecutors on June 18. Officials expressed concerns that he could influence witnesses in an ongoing **investigation into suspected emissions cheating in diesel cars** sold by Audi parent company Volkswagen.

Computer goes on debate circuit

IBM demonstrated new progress in artificial intelligence when its Project Debater program **took on two experienced human debaters** on June 18. The system, which has been in the works for six years and can debate about 100 topics, scored well on knowledge but low on delivery.

POSTCARD

In Madagascar, soaring vanilla prices have a bittersweet cost

ON A RECENT SATURDAY AFTERNOON IN Sahabevava village, on the east coast of Madagascar, vanilla farmer Lydia Soa wielded a small wooden stamp studded with steel pins spelling out her producer number: MK021. Soa, 46, had recently branded thousands of green vanilla pods at her small plantation with this unique code. If a thief steals her crop, it can be traced at the local market. "Now I can sleep at night," she says.

These days vanilla theft is a big business. Climate change, crime and speculation have led to skyrocketing prices of the fragrant spice, from $20 per kilo five years ago to $515 in June. A pair of tropical cyclones wiped out a third of 2017's crop in Madagascar—which supplies 80% of the world's vanilla—and sent the global price soaring.

A byword for *boring*, vanilla tends to be taken for granted. Yet without it, cookies lose their zing, crème brûlée its flare and Calvin Klein's Obsession its sweet, woody base. And without vanilla, some 80,000 farmers in Madagascar—one of the poorest countries in the world—would lose their livelihood.

High prices rarely benefit the small family farmers whose futures depend on the fickle fruit. Vanilla, which blooms only once a year, for one day, has to be pollinated by hand, and the fruit takes nine months to mature. New vanilla vines take three years to mature, and at a dollar per bean, farmers have to contend with thieves who snatch the just-before-ripe pods straight from the vines, knowing they will still fetch a decent price.

Some farmers have responded by harvesting their crops early, flooding the market with low-quality beans that lack the intense flavor that emerges just before the mid-July harvest. The quality plummets, and so does the price. Farmers tear out their vines in frustration, until the price climbs again, creating a vicious cycle of vanilla boom and bust.

Although most people would struggle to tell the difference between real vanilla and artificial flavoring, consumers are increasingly demanding natural products in their food. That's why Mars Inc., Danone, and Firmenich, the world's largest privately owned flavor and fragrance supplier, have invested $2 million in a fund to stabilize a crop most people don't even think about—part of a growing trend of food companies' streamlining their supply chain.

Through the Livelihoods Fund for Family Farming, they have partnered with an NGO to provide farmers with vanilla seedlings, teach them sustainable practices that avoid the slash-and-burn methods of traditional agriculture and organize neighborhood vanilla-watch programs. They are also supplying farmers with the antitheft stamps.

Vanilla thieves now face up to four years in jail. To Soa, that's not enough. She wants a life sentence. "You invest all your life in growing the vanilla. Stealing it is the same thing as killing someone."

—ARYN BAKER/SAHABEVAVA

CRIME

The imperfect crime

A Florida man had a sheriff's office test whether he'd been sold fake meth; it was real, so they arrested him. Here, other criminals who accidentally gave themselves up. *—Abigail Abrams*

REALISTIC FICTION
Polish writer Krystian Bala was convicted of murder in 2007, seven years after he killed a man who reportedly slept with his ex-wife. Police charged him after he used the details of his crime to write a best-selling novel.

SOCIAL MEDIA
In 2012, a Kentucky man siphoned gas from a police car and was so proud of his crime that his girlfriend took a photo. After they posted it on Facebook, police soon found the man and arrested him.

DRUNK DRIVING
An Australian man with a suspended license allegedly drove drunk to a Sydney police station in April. Police said he told them he had come to check in, per the terms for his bail on earlier drunk-driving charges.

WITHDREW
The **U.S., from the U.N. Human Rights Council,** on June 19, citing concerns about the body's criticism of Israel. This is the first time a country has voluntarily left the council, but similar issues also led President George W. Bush to initially refuse to join when it formed in 2006.

JAILED
Former Trump campaign chairman **Paul Manafort,** by a judge who revoked his bail on June 15. Manafort is set for trial in September on the special counsel's charges.

BANNED
Artificial trans fats, from all food in the U.S., effective June 18. The deadline was set by the FDA when it said in 2015 they were unsafe to eat.

CLOSED
A major **alcohol study,** by the National Institutes of Health, after an investigation concluded that officials solicited money from the alcohol industry.

BLOCKED
A law to make **"upskirting"**—taking photos under someone's skirt without consent—illegal in the U.K., by one Tory lawmaker.

RULED
That **Kansas' proof-of-citizenship voter-ID law** was unconstitutional, in a blow to Kansas secretary of state Kris Kobach. A judge ordered Kobach, who championed the law, to take six hours of continuing legal education.

HANDCUFFS: GETTY IMAGES; WHITSON: NASA/REDUX; MONTICELLO: GETTY IMAGES

NASA astronaut Peggy Whitson, who holds the U.S. record for most cumulative time in space, aboard the space station in December 2016

RETIRED

Peggy Whitson
NASA's space ace

YOU WOULD NOT HAVE WANTED TO LIVE THE DAY PEGGY Whitson lived on April 19, 2008. During her return from her second stay aboard the International Space Station, the Soyuz spacecraft she was flying aboard failed to separate fully from a propulsion module attached to its aft end. The dead weight hanging from the ship caused it to plunge through the atmosphere at a too-steep angle, subjecting the crew to more than eight times Earth's gravity and threatening to incinerate them before they reached the ground. Ultimately, a stuck bolt burned through, the module separated, and the crew landed safely.

"Gravity is not my friend right now," Whitson joked after the landing. The next chance she got, she went back to space anyway.

Over the course of 15 years, from 2002 to 2017, Whitson, 58, who retired from NASA on June 15, completed three missions to the station, flying both the American shuttle and the Russian Soyuz. In that time, she logged more time in space than any other American astronaut, at 665 days; walked in space 10 times, for a total of 60 hr. 21 min. outdoors; became the first woman to command the station, in 2008, then did it again in 2017. She leaves NASA a better and more storied place than she found it. Other women and men may break her longevity records; her firsts will always be hers. —JEFFREY KLUGER

OPENED

Sally Hemings' room
at Monticello

SALLY HEMINGS, THE enslaved woman who bore Thomas Jefferson's children, is one of the most famous African-American women in history, but the details of her life have long been a controversial mystery. Now Jefferson's mountaintop plantation has changed how it tells her story—and, in doing so, affirmed a major shift in the way such institutions talk about the Founding Fathers.

The "Life of Sally Hemings" exhibit that opened at Monticello on June 16 is the first time Hemings has had a dedicated space in the visitor experience there. Certain aspects of her life will always be difficult to discuss; for example, she has in the past been called Jefferson's "mistress," but under Virginia law she was in fact his property. No firsthand accounts from Hemings exist, so some historians point out that there is still a limit to how much we can know about their relationship, but the launch represents a firm statement by the guardians of Jefferson's legacy that the time for doubts about her role in history is over. A new era, the exhibit seems to say, has begun—an era of institutions and visitors alike grappling with their views of America's past. —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

FRONTIERS OF MEDICINE

No more chemo for certain types of breast cancer

By Alice Park

PHYLLIS LACETTI FOUND HER OWN BREAST CANCER WHEN she felt an abnormal lump in her right breast in 2007. A nurse at Montefiore Medical Center, she had a lumpectomy to remove it, but an MRI afterward revealed remaining cancer cells, so she opted to get a mastectomy.

Her cancer doctor recommended that she get chemotherapy to ensure that her cancer wouldn't recur, since Lacetti's family history put her at high risk. Her sister and father had died of leukemia, and her brother passed away from thyroid cancer. Chemotherapy, he said, was her best option for preventing the cancer from coming back.

But Lacetti was reluctant to get the toxic therapy. "I saw my sister suffer, I saw my brother suffer, and I didn't know if that's what I wanted to do," she says.

When her physician, Dr. Joseph Sparano, a professor of medicine and obstetrics and gynecology at Albert Einstein College of Medicine and associate director of clinical research at Montefiore, mentioned that he happened to be heading up a large study investigating whether women like Lacetti could safely avoid getting chemotherapy, she was intrigued. Sparano was comparing women, like Lacetti, who had been treated with surgery or radiation and were then given only hormonal therapies (ones that block hormones like estrogen that fuel tumor growth), with women who received both hormone therapies and chemotherapy. Lacetti was eager to help doctors learn more about whether chemo was necessary for people like her, so she joined the study.

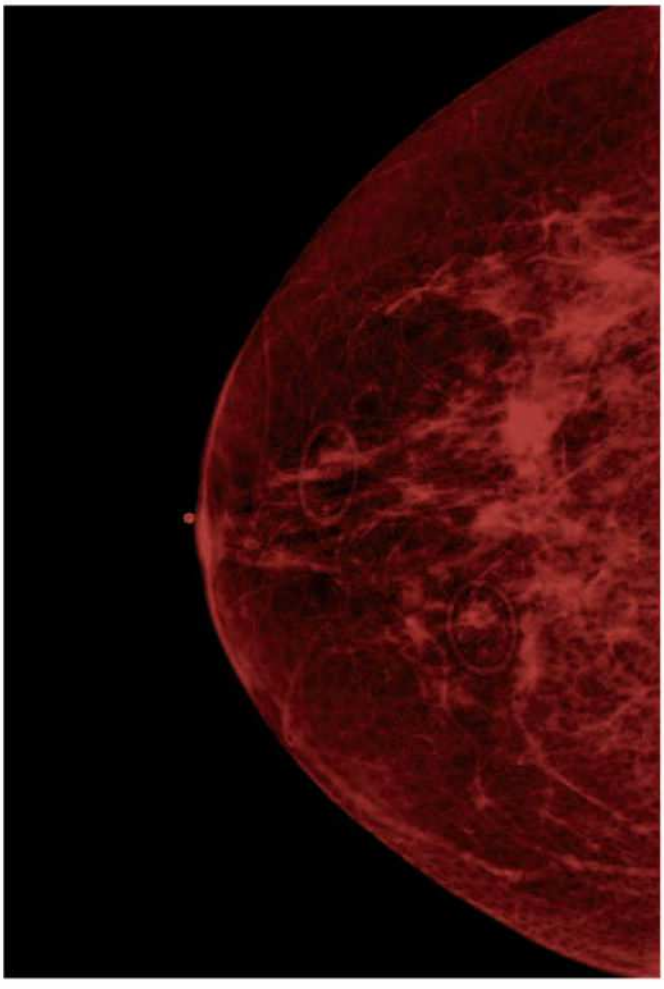
'Chemo is not killing any more cancer cells than hormone therapy.'

DR. LARRY NORTON, Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center

Nearly 10 years later, Lacetti knows she made the right decision. She was randomly assigned, as she had hoped, to the hormonal-therapy-only group, so she never received chemotherapy. She and the more than 10,000 other women from across the country who participated in the trial showed that for most women with early-stage breast cancer, chemotherapy does not provide any additional benefit in reducing recurrence or the chances of dying of the disease.

"I feel relief that, wow, now there is proof out there that there's no difference if you don't do chemo," she says.

THOSE RESULTS APPLY to the majority of women diagnosed with breast cancer in the U.S. and could dramatically change their treatments. Most of the more than 260,000 new cases of breast cancer diagnosed in the U.S. each year are picked up at the early stages, and half have not yet spread to the lymph nodes. (Once cancer spreads to the lymph nodes, it is more likely to infiltrate other tissues throughout the body.) About 80% of cases are dependent on the hormone estrogen, so antiestrogen treatments are generally effective in keeping them under control. And most are also free of a protein called HER2 that can require a different treatment regimen.



The majority of newly diagnosed breast cancers in the U.S. may not require chemotherapy

MAMMOGRAM: MONTEFIORE HEALTH SYSTEM; COLORIZATION BY TIME

For these women, Sparano's trial, called TAILORx, is a game changer. Since 2000, the National Institutes of Health has recommended that women treated for early-stage breast cancer with surgery or radiation also receive chemotherapy as a safety net—primarily on the basis of data from more advanced cases of breast cancer that showed that chemo could ensure that any rogue cells missed by the other treatments don't escape to grow again. Even after antiestrogen treatments were introduced as part of the regimen in recent decades, they were simply added on to chemotherapy.

The benefits, doctors believed, justified the often toxic side effects that come with chemotherapy drugs. Many women experience nausea, vomiting, fatigue and sleep disruptions,

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REFERENCES: 1. FreeStyle Libre User's Manual. **2.** Data on File. Abbott Diabetes Care.

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although some newer forms of chemo come with fewer adverse effects. Some studies also point to potential long-term health problems linked to chemotherapy, including additional cancers.

THE GROUNDBREAKING FINDINGS that most women with early-stage breast cancer may not need chemotherapy were presented recently at the annual meeting of the American Society of Clinical Oncology and published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. The study involves a genetic test called Oncotype DX, which can assess women's risk of having their cancer recur; for those with low to intermediate risk, hormonal therapies, which women typically take for five years, may be enough. Both the women in the study taking just hormone treatment and those taking the combination of hormone treatment and chemotherapy had a nearly 94% chance of surviving their cancer after nine years. "The important take-home message is that we have an unprecedented level of evidence for using the genetic test to guide chemotherapy use with an unprecedented level of precision," says Sparano.

The results provide much-needed reassurance to doctors and patients who in recent years have been questioning how much treatment is enough. Especially for women at intermediate risk, "we've always known that we are overtreating with chemotherapy," says Dr. Sara Hurvitz, director of the breast oncology program at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Oncotype DX analyzes 21 genes to rate recurrence risk on a scale from 0 to 100. Higher risk scores warrant chemotherapy, but until this study, it was less clear whether women with intermediate risk scores, from 11 to 25, needed it. "I would spend a lot of time with my patients saying, 'We don't know what the absolute benefit of chemotherapy is for you,'" says Dr. Dawn Hershman, director of the breast-cancer program at NewYork–Presbyterian/Columbia University Medical Center. Most doctors erred on the side of caution. "I have been leaning toward chemo," says Dr. Larry Norton, medical director of the Evelyn H. Lauder Breast Center at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center. "Everything else being equal, it's better to treat and prevent metastasis than not to treat and allow metastasis."

This better-safe-than-sorry approach has led to unnecessary treatment, which might now be avoided. An earlier arm of TAILORx showed that women with low risk of recurrence (scores below 10) might not need chemotherapy; now more than 60,000 women in the U.S. with intermediate risk scores up to 25 can be added to that group. "Chemo is not killing any more cancer cells than are being killed by hormone therapy," says Norton. "I don't see chemo playing a role in this setting at all."

Adding chemo to hormone therapies did not necessarily lower risk of recurrence

This new treatment strategy applies mostly to women older than 50, who are usually past menopause, when levels of estrogen, which feeds breast tumors, start to drop. For younger women with intermediate risk scores (16 to 25), there may still be some benefit to relying on chemotherapy since it may push them into early menopause and lower their exposure to estrogen.

THE RESULTS MAY HERALD a new era in which doctors make smarter decisions about how much is enough when treating certain cancers. "This is the dawn of the de-escalation era," says Hurvitz. "We need to move forward looking for ways to de-escalate therapy that is not just limiting quality of life but also potentially harming patients."

That streamlining can also contribute to cost savings. The Oncotype DX test runs about $3,000 to $4,000 (covered by most insurers), but for tens of thousands of women it could potentially spare them from chemotherapy, which can cost, on average, $20,000.

Even apart from the financial benefit, for women like Lacetti, the findings provide welcome reassurance that they can avoid a dreaded part of cancer care that comes with serious side effects and long-term health consequences. "It's wonderful," she says. "My sister had to quit her job to do chemo and stayed in the hospital for 11 months. I'm able to keep my job and spend more time with my family. I'm glad they had this study, and I'm glad I was able to be a part of it." □

BREAST CANCER BY THE NUMBERS

62%
Percentage of new breast-cancer cases that are diagnosed before the cancer spreads to the lymph nodes

80%
Percentage of breast-cancer cases that can respond to antiestrogen treatments

94%
Survival rate at nine years for women with early breast cancer who did not get chemotherapy

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Tennis champion **Venus Williams** sees a fulfilling life beyond the court. Just not yet

By Sean Gregory

VENUS WILLIAMS HAS TUNED OUT ALL MANNER of distractions on her way to becoming one of the most successful women to set foot on a tennis court. But on a recent June morning in downtown New York City, there was no competing with the doe eyes of her 11-year-old Havanese, Harry, as he peeked his head out of her backpack. "Hi, good morning again," Williams cooed as she buried her face in Harry's fur. "You're awful cute, aren't you?"

As Harry gazes at her, Williams snaps back to attention and explains why, at age 38, with seven major tournament titles, a successful clothing brand and an interior-design business to her name, she keeps grinding away on the tennis tour. "I think you see some players, they're clearly not playing well and they can't keep up and they just can't compete," Williams says. "This is not a problem that I have."

Williams is putting it modestly. More than two decades after her pro debut and seven years after being diagnosed with Sjögren's syndrome, an autoimmune disorder that causes pain and fatigue, Williams is still among the game's elite. In 2017 she reached the final of two Grand Slam tournaments and a semifinal of a third. This season has been rougher—she fell in the first round at both the Australian and French Opens. But if history is any guide, Wimbledon, which starts on July 2, could be the antidote.

The manicured grass of the All England Club has been particularly kind to Williams. Aided by her knack for running down balls on the fast surface that sneak past other players, she has won the singles title five times and, paired with sister Serena, the doubles title six times. ("Those titles count," Williams says, smiling.) Those matches included some of the most memorable in recent history, including the three-set classic over Lindsay Davenport in the 2005 final and her straight-set triumph over Serena in '08. Last July, Williams became the oldest Wimbledon finalist since Martina Navratilova in 1994.

Wimbledon is significant for another reason: it's where Williams took a stand for equal prize money that helped the women achieve pay parity with the men. The day before she won the 2005 title, Williams addressed the Grand Slam Board, made up of executives from the four major events, in the boardroom at the august All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club. At that time, only the U.S. Open and the Australian Open offered equal prize money for men and women; Wimbledon and the French Open were still holding out. She gazed at the tennis pooh-bahs and asked them to close their eyes and follow her on a thought experiment. "You feel like you're going against people who maybe have made up their minds already," Williams says, recalling the moment. "I felt like I had to say something that was very humanizing because these people on the board, they have mothers, they have daughters, they have sisters. They have to remember that these women who are not getting equal prize money are mothers and daughters and sisters. You have to look at it that way, or else you might not be able to see through it."

In April 2006, the French Open announced it would close its pay gap and offer both champions the same prize money. Wimbledon, however, stood firm. So Williams took her crusade public, writing in a June 2006 op-ed in the *Times* of London: "I feel so strongly that Wimbledon's stance devalues the principle of meritocracy and diminishes the years of hard work that women on the tour have put into becoming professional tennis players."

Williams' crusade helped convince British Parliament to take up the issue. Prime Minister Tony Blair called for equal prize money. In early 2007, Wimbledon changed its policy. "It all happened so quickly," Williams says. "We all thought we were going to fight for a lot more years." This year the men's and women's champions will each earn around $3 million.

The debate, however, still rears its head. Rafael Nadal, who won his 11th French Open title in June, recently suggested that there can be reasons for pay disparities in a field. "Female models earn more than male models and nobody says anything," Nadal told an Italian magazine. "Why? Because they have a larger following. In tennis too, who gathers a larger audience earns more." When I read Nadal's comments to Williams, she declined to return serve. "I don't know anything about modeling," she says. "I guess that's a metaphor that makes sense to him."

Williams is well aware that the pay gap is far from closed outside of tennis. American women earn 80¢ for every dollar taken home by men. "There's still a lot of work to be done," says Williams. "But men have to want it just as much as women. That's very important. We have to raise our sons in a way that that we see women as equals."

Looking back on the push for equal pay, Williams says she is an unlikely trailblazer. "I'm

WILLIAMS QUICK QUESTIONS

Why have you played for so long?
I love it. I'm good at it. This is not the kind of job where I'm going to have a comeback at 60. So honestly, I feel like I need to quit when I have no regrets. And right now is not the time.

Why are you passionate about equal pay?
We're going to have issues as long as people want to dominate each other. But as long as there are people who want to be part of the solution, the problem can't last forever.

THOMAS PETER—REUTERS

not necessarily a person who's looking to be a leader in the middle of a crowd," she says. "My job puts me in the middle of the crowd, but it's not really how I live my life. But I'm also the kind of person that if you start a fight with me, then trust me, I'm going to end it. Don't start anything with me."

A DECADE AGO, few would have wagered that the Venus and Serena would still be playing competitive tennis, let alone thriving in tournaments. They were rare talents, sure, but critics said the sisters had too many outside interests. And many wondered how Williams would be able to continue to play at the top level after her Sjögren's-syndrome diagnosis. Williams did explore life beyond the court. She earned degrees in business and fashion design. "Not being more than an athlete was considered a failure in my household," she says.

But it turns out that in refusing to pile up on tournament appearances in their 20s, the Williams sisters were able to flourish into their 30s. "It's about planning a smart schedule," says Williams. "A lot of people didn't do that. Mental burnout is just as bad as physical burnout. Maybe worse."

'If you start a fight with me, then trust me, I'm going to end it. Don't start anything with me.'

VENUS WILLIAMS

At last year's Wimbledon, Williams broke down in tears after a reporter asked her about a incident that had occurred weeks earlier, when she was involved in a car accident in Florida that took the life of another car's passenger. In December, police cleared Williams of any criminal wrongdoing. The deceased man's family has filed a wrongful-death lawsuit against Williams, who declined to talk to TIME about the case.

Pundits have written millions of words, and filled hours of airtime, explaining the meaning of the sisters to their sport, and society at large. Williams is far less inclined to do the same. Asked how she would describe her impact, Williams deflects introspection like an errant ball. "Oh my gosh, I have to work on my wide serve," Williams says. "Why am I not moving faster? Those are the things I think about. I don't sit back and reminisce on any achievement, because that's the past. And I don't live in the past." □

Temporary truce

A crowd of civilians, Afghan national police and Taliban fighters ride together on the back of a police truck on a highway in the village of Top, in Wardak province, on June 17, the third day of an unprecedented cease-fire in Afghanistan. The government and the Taliban had each declared unilateral three-day cease-fires for the Eid holiday, and groups from both sides celebrated and prayed together. But the truce was marred by two suicide bombings, one claimed by ISIS, that left dozens dead. Despite the violence, Kabul extended its cease-fire for an additional 10 days. The Taliban rejected an offer to join and soon resumed hostilities, killing at least 30 soldiers at army checkpoints on June 20.

Photograph by Andrew Quilty

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The View

NATION

PHARMA EXECS FEEL NO PAIN

By Barry Meier

On June 12, the owners of OxyContin maker Purdue Pharma were sued by the Massachusetts attorney general, who alleges that the company knowingly misled doctors and consumers about the dangers of its product. (Purdue denied the claim.) This evokes an earlier, separate—and revealing—case against the company.

INSIDE

ANGELA MERKEL'S STRATEGY FOR HER GREATEST POLITICAL CHALLENGE YET

THE CASE AGAINST AMERICA'S CREATING A "SPACE FORCE"

WHAT TEENS ARE DOING NOWADAYS INSTEAD OF SMOKING

In 2007, Purdue Pharma's parent company admitted to a felony charge of lying about OxyContin's potential for abuse and addiction, while marketing the drug. But the Justice Department allowed three Purdue Pharma executives to plead guilty to a misdemeanor "misbranding" charge that held them liable for the company's actions because of their positions of authority but did not accuse them personally of wrongdoing. All paid large fines. But there was no trial.

After the settlement, a U.S. Senator wanted to know: Why was there such a vast gap between the company's admission of wrongdoing and the relatively minor pleas by the executives? At a congressional hearing, the prosecutor of the case, John Brownlee, was grilled. He said he believed the officials' lower charge was "appropriate," given the evidence. Yet when pressed about that information, Brownlee declined to describe it, citing grand jury secrecy rules.

More than a decade later, we finally know an important reason the Purdue Pharma executives never faced the possibility of prison. As it turns out, Brownlee did want to indict them on serious felony charges. And the evidence he couldn't discuss was records suggesting that Purdue Pharma knew for three years about OxyContin's growing abuse and concealed that information. But the executives were never indicted. Political appointees at the Justice Department, after meeting with a high-powered Purdue Pharma legal team advised by Rudolph Giuliani, refused to back Brownlee's recommendations. The prosecutor was left dangling in the wind.

FACING THE OPIOID CRISIS, President Trump has called for the execution of drug dealers as Attorney General Jeff Sessions has declared a crackdown on doctors and drugstores illegally dispensing prescription painkillers. But the 2007 Purdue Pharma case shows how the Justice Department contributed to this catastrophe by not holding drug-company executives accountable to the same level of justice as street-level drug dealers.

In his 2017 book, *The Chickenshit Club,* journalist Jesse Eisinger described how the Justice Department has devolved from an agency eager to imprison white collar criminals to one that has "lost the will and indeed ability to go after the highest-ranking corporate wrongdoers." One reason: government lawyers are more interested in mutual backscratching with defense attorneys than a case's merits, because their next job will be in the private sector.

Even a decade ago, some experts thought a trial of the Purdue Pharma executives—regardless of who won—could have slowed the opioid epidemic's trajectory by putting on display the evidence prosecutors had gathered. The Justice Department's decision to keep the information hidden did the opposite.

Doctors, who were kept in the dark about much of what Purdue Pharma knew about OxyContin, continued to liberally dispense opioids, writing tens of millions of additional new prescriptions annually. Over the five years after the case's settlement, distributors shipped enough prescription painkillers to give every person in West Virginia—a state already awash with opioid abuse—433 pills. In that period, some 100,000 Americans died from overdoses involving prescription painkillers like OxyContin; thousands became addicted to opioids or suffered ill health consequences.

Government lawyers are more interested in mutual backscratching with defense attorneys

One prosecutor involved in the 2007 case said during a court hearing that year that the executives' misdemeanor pleas would send a message that drug-industry officials faced being held to "a higher standard." But the message it really sent was that the only penalties companies paid for breaking the law were fines that essentially amounted to a cost of doing business.

The opioid crisis is complex and presents an array of challenges ranging from finding ways to treat pain with means besides opioids to helping those addicted to prescription painkillers and illegal drugs. But the Trump Administration, along with taking measures against leaders of drug cartels, can also put every C-suite executive involved in the manufacture or distribution of prescription opioids on notice that there will be no special justice for them if they betray the public trust.

Massachusetts took a step in that direction with its new civil lawsuit. Purdue Pharma; its wealthy, secretive owners, the Sackler family; and additionally, some executives past and present may face a real trial. Someday, maybe the Justice Department will also get tough.

Meier is a Pulitzer Prize–winning former reporter for the New York Times *and the author of* Pain Killer: An Empire of Deceit and the Origin of America's Opioid Epidemic

READING LIST

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

How Trump erodes hope

Abdi Nor Iftin, author of the new memoir *Call Me American,* describes how he once dreamed of leaving his native Somalia—but that now, as a legal resident in the U.S., he has a new fear: **"If this country settled by immigrants could close its doors to the most desperate people in the world, who would help?"**

Why doing nothing is so important

"We use our allowance of paid vacation to recharge the batteries … and gear up for a return to work," writes Brian O'Connor, author of the recent book *Idleness: A Philosophical Essay,* as he urges us to **reconsider our relationship to productivity.** "Leisure, in this way, is incorporated into the world of work. It is not a subversion of it."

Autocrats' favorite scripture

Harvard professor John L. Walton explains **why rulers use the Bible to rationalize their political oppression** by selectively citing the part of Romans 13 that says that "the authorities that exist have been established by God."

Refugees and activists march in the German town of Ellwangen on May 9

PROTEST: ANDREAS GEBERT—GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

A rift over migrants threatens Merkel's coalition

By Ian Bremmer

GERMAN CHANCELlor Angela Merkel hasn't had much chance to enjoy her fourth term. In September elections, her party took its lowest vote share since 1949, partly because of an open-arms approach to Europe's migrant crisis that cut into her popularity. It took her six months to woo reluctant partners into a coalition. And though crime and migration are both down, Merkel is in trouble once again.

Interior Minister Horst Seehofer, leader of the more conservative Bavarian party in coalition with Merkel, expects a tough challenge in this fall's regional elections from the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD). That means he wants to get tough on immigrants, including his plan to allow German police to turn away migrants at the border if they have already registered in another E.U. country.

For Merkel, this undermines the principle of E.U. burden-sharing by forcing southern countries like Italy and Greece to take in more than their share of migrants. But if Merkel fires Seehofer, his party will leave her coalition and she will no longer have a majority of seats in Parliament. That could mean new elections—and polls suggest her party is even less popular now than in 2017.

Merkel may well survive this latest challenge. Seehofer knows a government collapse followed by new elections will only strengthen his far-right rivals in Bavaria. And Merkel still has solid-looking support within her own party and a national approval rating at 50%. Asylum applications in Germany fell from about 720,000 in 2016 to 200,000 in 2017. Despite President Trump's false claim to the contrary, crime in Germany stands at its lowest level since 1992.

But this is the wrong time for a weakened Merkel. At home, divisions within her coalition will embolden the far-right opposition to push harder on migration. In Europe, she wants leaders to consider a blocwide solution at a June 28 summit.

But with Italy's new government turning away boatloads of desperate people, the migration issue is entering a new and dangerous phase in European politics. And it comes just as Merkel, the leader best able to force compromise, is in the weakest position to forge one. □

POLITICS

It will be many moons before America needs a 'space force'

Garbage is not an attractive topic, even when it's in space. So there was little surprise that when President Trump held an event on June 18 to address the problem of orbital debris, he veered off topic to sign an Executive Order concerning something with more appeal: a new branch of the military known as the "space force."

Trump's space policies have generally been ambitious and well received, but the space force is problematic. A Space Command already exists within the Air Force—managing military satellites, communications, and Earth surveillance. The program could use a funding boost to upgrade satellites and protect them against attack, but it's operating reasonably well.

Still, military technology in space is in its infancy. The Air Force was established in 1947, when the need became acute for a separate force of pilots, ground crews and tacticians who could fight in the new arena of the sky. Fighter spacecraft, by contrast, remain a long way off.

Former NASA administrator Sean O'Keefe questioned Trump's announcement. "Creation of a separate military service as a 'space force' is a solution in search of a problem," he said. Meantime, there's still that space trash we have to clean up. *—Jeffrey Kluger*

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For American teenagers, vaping is the new smoking

By Jamie Ducharme and Emily Barone

SMOKING ISN'T AS COOL AS IT USED TO be. The number of adult smokers in the U.S. is at an all-time low, according to new federal data, and a recent report from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention says almost a million fewer middle and high school students used tobacco products in 2017 than in '11.

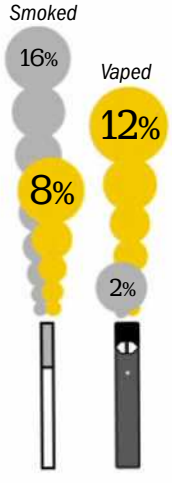
But vaping—using a handheld vaporizer that draws on liquid typically packed with nicotine—is up, which raises new issues. At last count, 3.2% of U.S. adults (about 7.5 million) said they used e-cigarettes, and it's even more common among teens. Nearly 12% of high schoolers vape; they especially favor Juul, the brand that dominates the U.S. market.

It's still unclear whether e-cigs are safe. Their aerosols often contain fewer harmful chemicals than smoke from burned tobacco, but they may still expose users to toxins. Many contain addictive nicotine, and there's conflicting research on whether they help smokers kick the habit. Some studies have also shown that kids who vape may be more likely to use other tobacco products.

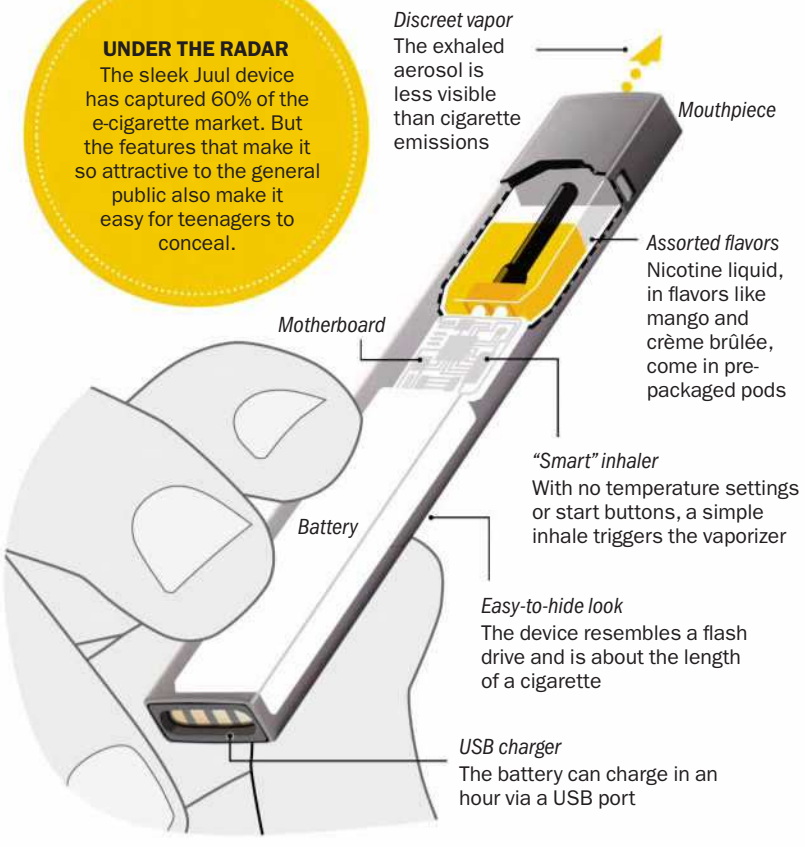
The Food and Drug Administration has prioritized curtailing youth use. In April, the agency sent letters to retailers warning them against illegally selling vaping products to underage users and asked makers to submit information on marketing practices. Juul, which says its devices aren't for minors, has pledged $30 million over three years to stem the flow of its product to teens. The risks from e-cigarettes remain unclear, but vaping is a trend that's unlikely to flame out. □

2011
2017

Percentage of high schoolers who, in the past month, have:

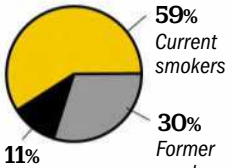


UNDER THE RADAR
The sleek Juul device has captured 60% of the e-cigarette market. But the features that make it so attractive to the general public also make it easy for teenagers to conceal.



Adult smokers are turning to vaping...

Among adult vapers:



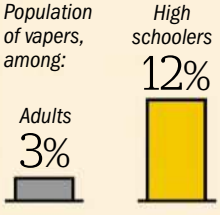
... as an alternative to carcinogenic cigarettes

1 in 5

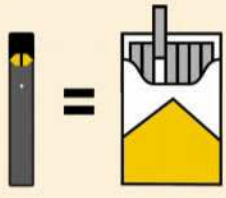
deaths in the U.S. today are from smoking

But teenagers are using e-cigs too...

Population of vapers, among:



... in part because the devices contain addictive nicotine

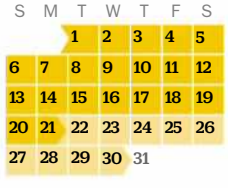


One Juul pod delivers the same amount of nicotine as a pack of cigarettes

Naive experimentation at a young age...

2 *in* **3** *young Juul users aren't aware that the product contains nicotine*

... can lead to long-term use

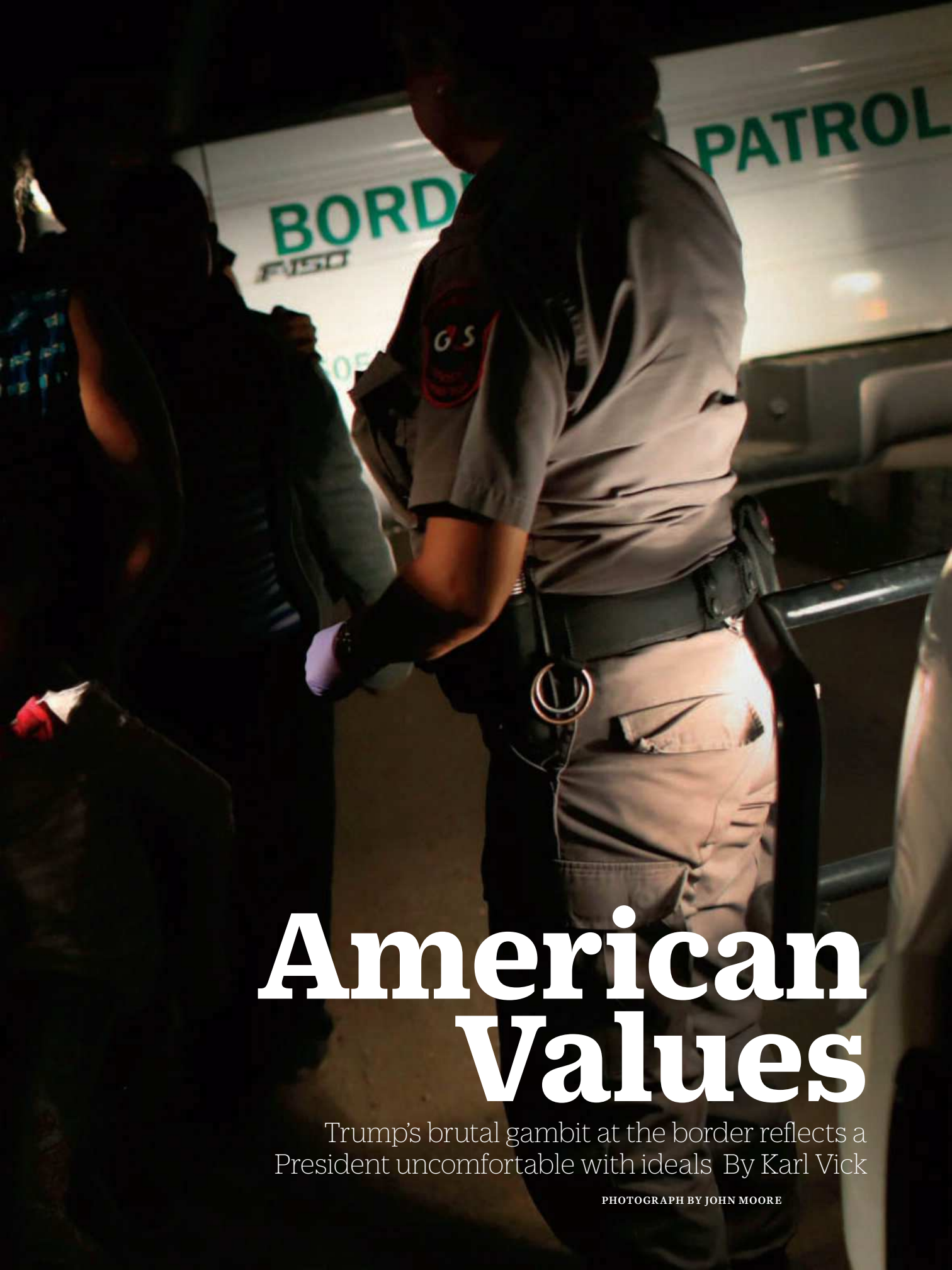


20% *of high school vapers are heavy users (21–30 days a month)*

SOURCES: NATIONAL YOUTH TOBACCO SURVEY; CDC; JUUL LABS INC.; TRUTH INITIATIVE; PEDIATRICS, 2018, VOL. 141
TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN

Nation

Central American immigrants detained in McAllen, Texas, on June 12



American Values

Trump's brutal gambit at the border reflects a President uncomfortable with ideals By Karl Vick

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN MOORE

Presidents have many jobs, and one is telling us who we are.

For the first 240 years of U.S. history, at least, our most revered chief executives reliably articulated a set of high-minded, humanist values that bound together a diverse nation by naming what we aspired to: democracy, humanity, equality. The Enlightenment ideals Thomas Jefferson etched onto the Declaration of Independence were given voice by Presidents from George Washington to Barack Obama.

Donald Trump doesn't talk like that. In the 18 months since his Inauguration, Trump has mentioned "democracy" fewer than 100 times, "equality" only 12 times and "human rights" just 10 times. The tallies, drawn from factba.se, a searchable online agglomeration of 5 million of Trump's words, contrast with his predecessors': at the same point in his first term, Ronald Reagan had mentioned equality three times as often in recorded remarks, which included 48 references to human rights, according to the American Presidency Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Trump embraces a different set of values. He speaks often of patriotism, albeit in the narrow sense of military duty, or as the kind of loyalty test he's made to NFL players. He also esteems religious liberty and economic vitality. But American's 45th President is "not doing what rhetoricians call that 'transcendent move,'" says Mary E. Stuckey, a communications professor at Penn State University and author of *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity.* Instead, with each passing month he is testing anew just how far from our founding humanism his "America first" policies can take us. And over the past two months on our southern border, we have seen the result.

On April 6, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced a new "zero tolerance" policy toward those crossing illegally into the U.S. from Mexico. In mere weeks, over 2,000 children were taken from their parents and held, alone, sometimes behind chain-link fences, under the cold care of the federal government. In Texas, three "tender age" centers were set up for detained toddlers and infants. Incessant wails of "Mamá" and "Papá" were heard on audio from a Customs and Border Protection detention center. An advocate told of a child being led away from her mother crying so hard she vomited. In a case mocked by former Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, the child taken from a parent was a 10-year-old with Down syndrome.

The reality on the southern U.S. border was so difficult to reconcile with Americans' vision of themselves that Trump did not even make the effort. The President's first mention of the order to separate children from their parents was a May 26 Twitter post calling it "horrible" even though he had personally authorized it. Three weeks later, his motives were fully in the open: by driving attention

Immigrant children in custody in Tornillo, Texas, on June 18

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: MIKE BLAKE—REUTERS

to the border, his signature campaign issue, Trump aimed to force a vote on his long-promised border wall before midterm elections can undo the GOP majority in Congress.

The attention part certainly worked. A week after his return from the June 12 summit with North Korea's dictator, family separation dominated the national conversation like no other political story since former FBI chief James Comey was shown the door. A steadily building wave of revulsion washed over the political spectrum, from MSNBC to the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* to Franklin Graham and into the White House living quarters, when a spokeswoman for the First Lady said she called for "a country that governs with heart."

Which leaves us facing a question: What kind of country are we? The world has been nervously asking that since November 2016. And while Trump ultimately capitulated on the forced separation of children, his new order suggested that families would be detained not only together, but perhaps indefinitely. For many Americans, the forced separation of immigrant families left them looking into the void from which the brutal policy emerged: the dark space left by the words Trump does say.

IN THE FIRST DAYS of the Trump Administration, the State Department moved to drop two words—*just* and *democratic*—from the list of qualities the U.S. sought to promote beyond its borders. The change did not go through, but the effort signaled a retreat from idealism that is re-ordering the world. In the name of "America first," a slogan that first surfaced to keep America out of World War II, Trump is angrily sawing away at the global structures the U.S. spent decades building after prevailing in that conflict, which left America not only as the globe's only intact major economic power, but also holding the moral high ground. Imperfect in myriad ways (lynching was still common in 1945; women had been allowed to vote for just a quarter-century), the U.S. looked plenty good beside the Third Reich and Imperial Japan, and vowed to do better. In a postwar world divided between the West and communism, America assumed the role of beacon. Presidents spoke relentlessly of democracy, humanitarianism and universal rights.

"Go to the United States, that's the place," was what Ivars Kalnins' parents heard in the displaced-persons camp where the family lived for five years after World War II, having fled their native Latvia ahead of the Soviets. Kalnins' father, as a city official, was a target for the Communists. The young family ended up in the southwestern Wisconsin hamlet of Burton, sponsored by the families of St. Paul Lutheran, where my father later preached. Kalnins' dad started out as a hired hand, doing the chores for local farmers that Mexicans now do, for half the wages a local would demand. His son, Ivars Kalnins, grew up to be a lawyer and ardent Trump supporter.

"My opinion on immigration basically is, wait your turn," Kalnins says. "We waited five years. I don't have any time or use for people sneaking in. You can't blame them for wanting a better life. On the other hand, we can't take in the whole world here, because everyone wants a better life. It's up to them to make the place they're from a better place."

Kalnins' journey from refugee to Trump loyalist is as complex and nuanced as the immigration issue, then and now. His grandmother, who had suffered a nervous breakdown from incessant shelling, ended

up in Britain, having been told the U.S. was not accepting refugees who were disabled physically or mentally. ("So there's your family separation," he says. "I've been through it. It happens.") But it was a Republican, Reagan, who extended amnesty to undocumented immigrants, and a Democrat, Obama, who deported more immigrants than any previous President and detained families, a policy abhorred by liberal critics.

But Obama also spoke of America's lofty values with an eloquence that intentionally sought to echo Reagan. "Nobody did this like Ronald Reagan did," says Stuckey. "Reagan could talk about national identity in ways that even liberals would nod their head and say, yes, I see myself there." By contrast, Stuckey says, Trump doesn't reach for America's loftier values in an attempt to unify. "Trump isn't interested in those things," she adds, "he speaks almost exclusively to his base."

That suits the base just fine. "All these grandiose speeches," says Kalnins, who counts himself among those who relish that Trump does not sound like a politician. "Even Bush, who wanted to be the aw-shucks guy, it was all in there, a nice half-hour speech saying absolutely nothing. That's what we've gotten away from. It scares the hell out of some people, but I personally feel that there must have been something there that helped him win, because we were on the road of the fall of the Roman Empire."

What's lost in Trump's approach is any expectation of higher purpose. He makes no apology for lavishing praise on authoritarian leaders that past U.S. Presidents dealt with at arm's length—Egypt's Abdul Fattah al-Sisi ("somebody that's been very close to me from the first time I met him"), the Philippines' Rodrigo Duterte ("great relationship") and Russia's "strong leader" Vladimir Putin. When China's Xi Jinping announced he would be President for life, placing 1.4 billion people deeper under government control, Trump offered congratulations.

American deference to authoritarian rulers now extends even into the nation's capital. When Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan directed his security detail to beat protesters in full view of the press on a Washington, D.C., street on May 16, 2017, there were no consequences. Federal charges against his bodyguards were dropped in March, a day before Erdogan was scheduled to meet with Trump's Secretary of State.

Central American immigrants leave ICE custody on June 11 pending future hearings

JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES

THE STORY WE TELL the world is also the story we tell ourselves. Trump began June by blowing up the G-7 gathering of the world's leading democracies by refusing to sign a joint statement endorsing "shared values of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and our commitment to promote a rules-based international order." He slapped tariffs on Canada, Mexico and the European Union, advised France to drop out of the E.U., and urged Germans to support right-wing anti-immigrant parties intent on deposing Chancellor Angela Merkel. The leaders of France and Canada replied by citing "values," but Trump had moved on to Singapore, where he praised North Korea's dictator Kim Jong Un, whose regime actively operates a network of gulags, as "a funny guy … very smart … his country does love him. You see the fervor."

What values does America's billionaire President embrace in place of the Founders'? A kind of gimlet-eyed competition. Trump purports to run the country as a business, the most meaningful metric being exports vs. imports: if you have more than your counterpart, you're a winner, and the other guy a loser. But even in the bloodless world of accounting, "goodwill" has a place on the ledger (the left side; it's an asset) and the U.S. may be writing down a loss. Its economy is strong. The people pitching up at its borders surely count as proof of that.

It was Alexis de Tocqueville, the French observer of the early American character, who recognized the danger of placing too much value on business, law and order at the expense of the higher values. Warning of the country's obsession with material gain and the enforcement of order necessary to pursue it, he wrote, "A nation that asks nothing of its government but the maintenance of order is already a slave at heart."

Which is why the test posed with Trump's "zero tolerance" policy is as much about our future as it is about the tragedy of the families separated by its implementation. Trump may have backed down on the specific practice of family separation, but the larger question remains. In the balance between the integrity of the U.S. border with Mexico and a parent's love for a child, where will we come down?

"Without a Border, you don't have a Country," the President wrote on June 19. Everyone knows that. The question is, what kind of country? ◻

IMMIGRATION

The facts about Trump's border policy

By Maya Rhodan

On April 6, Attorney General Jeff Sessions ordered the adoption of a "zero tolerance" policy that calls for prosecuting anyone who enters the U.S. Illegally. Because children cannot be jailed alongside adults, families were separated under the policy. Between May 5 and June 19, more than 2,300 children were separated from their parents, according to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). On June 20, after an outpouring of criticism, President Trump signed an Executive Order to end the separation of families at the border and allow parents and children to be detained together indefinitely.

Here's how the policy began, how it worked and what it means going forward:

Whose policy is this?

The Trump Administration's. President Trump blamed the crisis on a Democratic law and said that only Congress could change it. But there is no law that requires splitting migrant parents and children. The family separations are a consequence of the Trump Administration's policy of prosecuting anyone who crosses the U.S. border illegally

Previous Presidents dealt with the issue differently. The Bush Administration also had a policy to prosecute anyone who entered the U.S. illegally, but it sought to limit family separations. The Obama Administration, which faced criticism from immigrants'-rights activists for its deportation and detention policies, primarily kept families together in holding facilities or released parents with ankle bracelets and GPS monitors.

How does it work?

When migrants are processed at the border, they are often detained within holding cells with chain-link-style fences. After processing, adults referred for federal prosecution are handed over to the U.S. Marshals Service. At that point, they are separated from their children. The minors are then considered unaccompanied and placed in the custody of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), a division of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

Unaccompanied children are placed in shelters or with foster parents until they can be released from federal custody to an adult sponsor, usually a parent or close relative. That sponsor is then responsible for caring for the minor through immigration court proceedings. HHS has a network of over 100 facilities across 17 states that provide care for migrant children. Some children end up in different parts of the country from their parents.

Under the policy, the youngest children have been sent to "tender age" shelters. Some contain playrooms full of crying preschool-age kids, according to the lawyers and medical professionals who have visited them.

What happens to unaccompanied children?

Federal officials begin the process of trying to locate a potential sponsor once kids are placed in ORR custody. In 2017, about 90% of children were eventually released to parents or close relatives. On average, kids spent about 57 days at shelters, according to the ORR. While there, they are provided with medical care, food and education. But officials say they are working to verify relationships and keep parents in contact with their children. Immigration and Customs Enforcement posts in its facilities lists of phone numbers and email addresses that parents can use to try to reach their kids. If a court orders a parent to be removed from the U.S., the parent can opt to have his or her children removed with them.

What does the Trump Administration want Congress to do?

Pass legislation that closes "loopholes" in U.S. immigration law, according to DHS Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen. She says the Administration wants lawmakers to reform asylum laws to stop applicants from making false claims; amend a 2008 anti-trafficking law that she says "encourages families to put children in the hands of smugglers"; and change a 1997 legal agreement, known as the Flores settlement, which she says would allow for families to be detained together throughout the legal process.

2,342

Number of kids who were separated from their parents under the "zero tolerance" policy between May 5 and June 19

What happens next?

President Trump's Executive Order will halt family separations, but not his zero-tolerance policy. As part of his order, the President asked the Attorney General to file a request to amend a legal settlement that dictates how long kids can be detained.

It is not yet clear what Congress may do about immigration. Before the surge in family separations, House Republicans were already weighing multiple bills that address broader immigration issues. The one with the best chance of passing the House, which is favored by GOP leaders, has been updated to end migrant family separations. But House GOP officials say they're unsure of its fate in the Senate.

Republican leaders in the Senate said they want a narrow fix to end the family separations. Texas Senators John Cornyn and Ted Cruz both proposed legislation that would boost capacity for family detention centers and authorize more immigration judges to ease the case backlog. Democrats have coalesced around a bill sponsored by California Senator Dianne Feinstein that would prohibit the practice of separating families.

POLITICS

Trump's inhumane border policy tests America

By Molly Ball

IT IS A CRISIS DONALD TRUMP CREATED AND always had the power to solve. At detention facilities across the country, children are penned in cages, crying out piteously for the parents from whom they have been torn by border agents on orders from Washington. Some children may never see their mother or father again.

In a presidency marked by serial outrages, the scandal over family separations at the southern border has been unlike any other. The President didn't just say something offensive, he intentionally turned the machinery of the state on some of the world's most vulnerable humans. He applied his signature approach—brutal toughness—to his trademark issue, immigration. He greeted criticism of his policy with mockery, falsehoods and blame-casting. He handcuffed the Republican Party and hamstrung understaffed federal agencies. All the themes of Trump's character and Administration were embodied in this wrenching calamity.

At first, Trump embraced the outrage, as he so often does. Even as the pictures, video and audio began to trickle out of the detention facilities, and awful stories spread—a woman deported without her son; older children changing younger ones' diapers—supporters predicted that Trump would stand his ground. "The President is stubborn enough to stick with this," said Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, which advocates for tougher immigration laws. "If they can weather this, they can just about weather anything."

But the images of young children sobbing for their parents created an outcry that neither Trump nor his opponents anticipated. Recriminations poured in, some of them from unexpected quarters. Evangelical leader Franklin Graham called it "disgraceful." Former First Lady Laura Bush wrote a scathing op-ed. Even Melania Trump issued an unusual statement deploring the situation and worked her husband behind the scenes, according to a White House official. The President and his party faced a toxic scenario in an election year that was already looking grim. "It's political insanity," a top Senate Republican aide told TIME. "It will kill us."

And so Trump did something he has rarely done as President: he backed down from the fight. At the urging of advisers, he signed an Executive Order on June 20 in an attempt to end family separations and instead detain children and parents together. He made clear he wasn't happy about it. "The dilemma is that if you're weak," Trump told Republican leaders in the White House Cabinet Room, "the country is going to be overrun with millions of people. And if you're strong, then you don't have any heart."

If there is a Trump creed, it's that there's no such thing as going too far

The inhumanity unfolding at the border has not just been a test for Trump. It has been, and will continue to be, a moment of reckoning for America. Trump has often bet that if he just rides out the current frenzy, the anger will fade and some new controversy will erupt. He thinks shock is a temporary condition, moral outrage is phony posturing and that the American people can be numbed to just about anything. If there is a Trump creed, it's that there's no such thing as going too far. That may have found its limit with putting children in cages. But as his "zero tolerance" policy heads toward a seemingly inevitable court battle, the jailing of kids may become the jailing of families—and we will see how much American hearts can withstand.

THE IDEA OF SEPARATING FAMILIES was once a bridge too far even for Trump. John Kelly, then Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and now White House chief of staff, floated the policy publicly in March 2017, only to backtrack in the face of political concern. But Trump's second year in office has been marked by the casting off of constraints and the marginalization of mainstream opinion. He has always believed that his stance against undocumented immigration was at the core of his political appeal, tapping working-class economic anxieties and latent nationalism.

So when the number of illegal crossings began to tick upward this year—the product of seasonal patterns and human-rights crises in Central America—Trump was infuriated. In meetings he berated Kelly's successor, DHS Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, and demanded that his staff find new approaches. Stephen Miller, Trump's senior policy adviser and an immigration hard-liner, revived the zero-tolerance proposal: anyone caught crossing the border without authorization would be subject to prosecution and jailed to await trial. It was announced by the Department of Justice in the spring to little fanfare.

As the outrage grew, political panic set in. Polls showing that about two-thirds of Americans

OLIVIER DOULIERY—ABACA PRESS/SIPA USA/AP

Trump signs an Executive Order to stop his family-separation practice on June 20

oppose the family separations prompted pushback from congressional Republicans. Immigration has long been the front line of the war for the soul of the GOP, with its business and donor classes favoring liberalization, while a vocal minority opposes anything it considers amnesty. Trump's actions have only deepened those divisions. Says a GOP lawmaker: "I'm not sure the President realizes that this is hurting the entirety of the Republican Party."

As Republicans grasp for a legislative solution, Trump declined to provide much clarity, let alone leadership. "I am behind you so much," the President said at a closed-door meeting of House Republicans on June 19. "Pass the bill. Do something," he said. Despite Trump's Executive Order, House lawmakers still planned to vote on a pair of immigration bills on June 21. But even if Congress passed a bill, Republicans acknowledged, there was no guarantee that Trump would sign it. "It's dangerous to take this President at his word," a Senate GOP aide told TIME. "That's not a judgment. That's a statement of fact."

What happens next for the parents and children detained at the border is just as murky. The President's Executive Order calls for families to be detained together, ending the separation issue but creating new complications. It is likely to be challenged in court. Immigrants' advocates fear that his move could defuse the public pressure as family separations give way to family internment camps. And there is still no system in place to reunite the thousands of children and parents already separated from one another.

Whatever misery this mess brings will lay squarely at the feet of the President. But what price he will pay remains unclear. Trump was elected on the strength of some searing truths about the American political system—that Washington was broken and politicians of both parties were hopeless lightweights—and also some searing falsehoods, including that a frightening, inhuman foreign threat was to blame for the nation's problems. He placed a cynical bet on the American character, that our capacity for empathy only went so far. The outcome of the humanitarian crisis at the border will be a test of whether that wager was right. —*With reporting by* BRIAN BENNETT, PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* NASH JENKINS/WASHINGTON ◻

A costly distraction

By Sarah Saldaña

Each year I was the director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Congress mandated that we use discretion when deciding how to use our funds wisely. This prosecutorial discretion is a time-honored and rational approach to seeking justice—one that balances the need to ensure public safety with the availability of limited public resources.

Every dollar spent by the U.S. government in pursuit of criminal misdemeanor immigration cases is wholly contrary to that mandate. Setting aside concerns of compassion—if that is even possible—the "zero tolerance" policy further burdens our over-burdened justice system when there are drug cartels, international organized criminal enterprises and cyber malefactors to investigate.

While Congress has incomprehensibly evaded the responsibility of legislating total immigration reform, there are effective alternatives to manage our critical border-security issues, other than simplistic responses like a physical border wall or the criminal pursuit of immigrant mothers, fathers and infants. I worked directly with the Presidents, national security and immigration officials of our neighbors to the south to collaborate on such solutions, which I found to be meaningful and effective. We should continue our public information programs in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Mexico, among other countries, to emphatically lay out the dangers of illegal immigration. We should work with these governments to shore up their economies and strengthen their nation-building capacities. And we should collaborate with—not denigrate—them, for the sake of our mutually beneficial law-enforcement relationships.

I am a true believer in the rule of law and the important ends of law enforcement. The actions being taken serve neither.

Saldaña, a former U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas, served as the director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement from 2014 to 2017

The U.S. should prosecute illegal immigration as it does other laws

By Haley Barbour

I am for reforming legal immigration, so that more people who come into the U.S. legally work, pay taxes, contribute to society. We clearly need the labor, and there are a lot of immigrants who entered the U.S. legally who are very successful and are very good for our community and country.

We need to do as much as we can to stop illegal immigration. It's a crime, and those who commit crimes in the U.S. should be prosecuted.

The answer is to have secure borders and to improve our legal immigration system. People who entered the U.S. illegally but have been good citizens, have not committed crimes, have paid their taxes, have supported themselves—they ought to have an opportunity to be treated just like anybody else who commits a nonviolent crime. They should be put on probation and should have to pay a fine. At the end of that probationary period, if they've been good citizens, then they ought to be allowed to get in line to try and get citizenship if they want it.

Those are the solutions. To have an open border is not one of them. Americans don't want people to commit a crime and to not have to be held accountable. That is in line with American values. If somebody commits a crime, they should have to pay the consequences.

Barbour, a Republican, is a former governor of Mississippi and co-chair of the Bipartisan Policy Center's Immigration Task Force

America's recent horrors echo its history

By Norman Y. Mineta

IN 1942, AS A 10-YEAR-OLD BOY IN San Jose, Calif., I was one of 120,000 people—close to 70% of us were American citizens—taken from our homes by the U.S. government and put into makeshift detention camps at horse racetracks. Our so-called crime was that we were of Japanese ancestry after Japan had attacked America.

When I was put into a camp, I was too young to be angry. I was afraid and confused. And I was ashamed of being punished for somehow being different.

Forty years later, the federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians determined that there was no military necessity for our detention. It concluded that the causes for the internment were racial prejudice, hysteria and "a failure of political leadership."

Today the circumstances are different, but the causes are the same. From his first words as President to the recent suggestion that America is at risk of becoming "a migrant camp," Donald Trump has trafficked in fear. "We" are up against "them," and "they" are coming to get "us."

Immigration, refugee resettlement and maintaining national borders were some of the toughest problems I faced in my years as a member of Congress. To resolve those issues requires hard choices, tempered by compromise and political courage.

America is at its best when it applies its democratic values, a can-do spirit, an open heart and a helping hand to problems like these. It is at its worst when it forgets those values and acts like a frightened, angry nation with second-rate political leaders.

We don't need 40 years and a commission to tell us what went wrong here.

Mineta, a Democrat, was a U.S. Representative for California from 1975 to 1995, U.S. Secretary of Commerce from 2000 to 2001 and U.S. Secretary of Transportation from 2001 to 2006

ILLUSTRATION BY EDEL RODRIGUEZ FOR TIME

Our mistaken sense of superiority

By Robert C. Brack

I'M A JUDGE ON THE CRIMINAL PROSecution side of immigration. I don't do asylum cases. I don't do deportations. Those are the civil side. I only know what I see.

In 2003, I was told by officials that only 3% of those who were caught coming into the country without permission were actually prosecuted. Since then, the penalty has gone from no consequence to a civil violation to a criminal violation.

For the most part, the defendants in my court are not really criminals. Many of them have worked hard. But they are not well-educated, and certainly they don't know how quickly the rules can change. So they make bad decisions. And they suffer consequences I just can't get my head around.

Last week, I had a couple of fathers from Guatemala who had come with their sons who were 7 and 12 years old—about the ages of my grandchildren—whom they hadn't heard from in a couple of months. They didn't know where their children were. We can't keep enough Kleenex in the courtroom.

Those who attack the immigrant population as being lawbreakers don't recognize that for years we left these laws unprosecuted, in part because of our insatiable demand for cheap labor. For a long time, we have benefited from their presence. I can't help but wonder, as we punish these people: Do we really have the moral and legal high ground?

Brack is a U.S. District Court judge for the District of New Mexico

America's story must win out

By Ben Rhodes

Barack Obama used to tell me that the job of the President was to tell the best possible story about who we are as a country—through our words *and* deeds. After the separation of children from families seeking to join the U.S. was embraced as the official policy of our government, we should ask ourselves what story we will tell.

President Trump's story is one of cruelty—that we may do something unfathomable to deter families from coming to America. To prevent them from seeking refuge that may help them survive, be it from political persecution, gang violence, drug cartels or domestic abusers.

History suggests that Trump's policies will fail. Downturns in migration almost always prove temporary, as people adjust to changes in American enforcement. What doesn't change is the basic human impulse to pursue a better life, in a place where they believe it's still possible. No deterrent can erase that desire—and for those whose lives are at risk in their home countries, nothing can cure that desperation.

Yet Trump has proposed slashing the money budgeted under the Obama Administration to help Central American nations improve the poor security, governance and economic conditions that cause people to flee—assistance that required crackdowns on corruption, migration and human trafficking.

As our government engages in the type of authoritarian practices that we used to criticize abroad, we are darkening the beacon we should shine for oppressed peoples everywhere. It is one of many ways to measure the price of this cruelty. Yet still, people in need turn to us. Instead of ruining lives and risking our social cohesion at home, we should choose to be worthy of their belief in who we are.

***Rhodes served as Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategic Communications during the Obama Administration and is the author of* The World as It Is**

PHOTOGRAPH BY ADAM FERGUSON FOR TIME

DEMOCRAT. DICTATOR.

Despite his promise to return Thailand to democracy, Prayuth Chan-ocha is tightening his grip

By Charlie Campbell/Bangkok

GENERAL PRAYUTH CHAN-OCHA APPEARS AT EASE among the lavish trappings of politics. Thailand's Prime Minister is never far from doting courtiers in Bangkok's 1920s Government House, a neo-Gothic building stippled with classical nudes and one particularly plump jade Buddha.

The opulence is a far cry from what Prayuth experienced in his four decades as a soldier, when he was trained to brave enemy fire from jungle-swathed foxholes. Still, he expresses dissatisfaction with this coda to his career away from the barracks. He sits in a position of power, he says, only out of a sense of duty. "When people are in trouble, we, the soldiers, are there for them," he tells TIME.

The question for Thailand is how long they will be there. Four years have passed since Prayuth, 64, seized power in a coup d'état. It was the 12th successful coup since the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1932, and Prayuth promised to quickly shepherd the Southeast Asian nation of 69 million back to democracy.

But the Thai people are still waiting to vote on their futures. Many here and in the region fear that under Prayuth's watch, America's oldest ally in Asia is undergoing a permanent authoritarian regression. It's a pattern that has been replicated elsewhere in the region as China's influence swells and President Trump pursues his "America first" doctrine.

Right now, the U.S. seems less committed than ever to smaller regional allies like Thailand in the 10-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN. Although Trump welcomed Prayuth to the White House in October, the Thai leader says Washington now seems "somewhat busy with its own issues. There seems to be some distance between the U.S. and ASEAN."

In terms of regional rivalry, there's no competition. "The friendship between Thailand and China has existed over thousands of years, and with the U.S. for around 200 years," Prayuth says. "China is the No. 1 partner of Thailand."

BORN IN THE northeastern province of Nakhon Ratchasima, Prayuth began his career at Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, which is considered to be Thailand's West Point. As a young officer, he won the Ramathipodi medal, the country's top honor for gallantry in the field. "When I was young, patriotism was all about joining the army, fighting in the front line for your country," he says. "I told myself that I had to dedicate my life for my homeland and the monarchy."

The royal family is treated with almost divine reverence in Thailand. Prayuth strengthened ties with the royal household and earned himself the nickname

Little Sarit, after Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, who seized power through a putsch in 1957 and helped raise the monarchy to its paramount role in Thai society. Today every Thai household displays a portrait of the monarch as the highest picture in the room. And the country boasts some of the world's strictest royal defamation laws, which are increasingly being used to crush dissent.

Many believe Prayuth's coup was meant to ensure that Thailand's elites remained in control during a sensitive time of royal succession. Thailand's new King, Maha Vajiralongkorn, leads an unconventional lifestyle and does not command the same respect that his father did. Prayuth says simply that he took control to restore order. "I could not allow any further damage to be done to my country," he says, with a dash of histrionics. "It was at the brink of destruction."

Prayuth was only four months from mandatory retirement when he seized power on May 22, 2014, after six months of street protests against the elected government of former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra. The demonstrations claimed at least 28 lives and left more than 700 injured. For more than a decade, Thailand has been wracked with color-coded street protests between the typically rural supporters of Yingluck and her brother Thaksin—who served as Prime Minister from 2001 to 2006—and their mainly urban opponents, backed by the powerful royal palace, military and judiciary. The pro-Yingluck faction wear red. Their opponents wear yellow.

Since 2014, Prayuth has returned Thailand to relative strength. Under the junta's watch, GDP growth has risen to 4%, exports are at a seven-year high and a record 35 million tourists thronged Thailand's beaches and temples in 2017. Infrastructure projects, like the $45 billion Eastern Economic Corridor of ports, railways and factories southeast of Bangkok, have been greenlighted. "These were not four years of empowerment, but it was the time to solve problems, overcome obstacles and build stability, security to move forward to the future," says Prayuth.

Exactly what that future will bring remains opaque. Peaceful protesters are routinely detained. At least 1,800 civilians face prosecution in military courts, amid what Human Rights Watch describes as "an ever-deeper abyss of human-rights abuses." Prayuth has a prickly relationship with the media. He once threw a banana skin at a reporter and threatened to "execute" those he considered unfair. In January, he brought a life-size cardboard cutout of himself to a press conference and placed it in front of reporters, telling them to "ask this guy."

And he comes across as tone-deaf to the peoples' woes. He hosts a weekly television show on which he bemoans the country's ills and offers baffling remedies. To tackle poverty, he advised "working harder." To avoid debt, he proposed "not going shopping." He has complained of "black magic" and "curses" from opponents. On one rural outreach mission, he was photographed talking to a frog.

Prayuth also pens songs and poems to express himself, and released two commercial pop singles that received mixed reviews. "My songs may not be beautiful, but it's a way to help me express my thoughts and communicate with the people," he says. "Thai people love poetry."

His attempt to install a new political system to ostensibly bring democracy back to Thailand still means the armed forces will act as a power broker. Although there will be elections, the military will appoint a third of the legislature and effectively retain a final say on key policy decisions. Prayuth says this will dilute the "winner takes all" system of majoritarian rule. "We cannot only care for the majority and neglect the minority like Thai democracy before," he says.

Yet many activists feel they are further away from democratic elections than ever. The latest proffered date is February 2019, although figures from across Thailand's political spectrum harbor doubts. "Mr. Prayuth is making every effort to stay in power," says former Deputy Prime Minister Chaturon Chaisang.

Those who oppose him can suffer dire consequences. Nuttaa Mahattana, 39, is one of the five leaders of the "We Want to Vote" movement, who were detained at a peaceful protest on the fourth anniversary of Prayuth's coup. She faces various draconian charges, including sedition, which carries a maximum sentence of seven years' imprisonment. "A junta doesn't belong in a democratic system," Nuttaa tells TIME from behind the bars of her squalid cell in central Bangkok. "Most people want to see democracy. They just don't want to see their family members getting arrested."

Prayuth is unmoved when pressed about the fate of demonstrators. "We have been rather lenient," he says. "If we allowed them to demonstrate freely, it might become too difficult to move forward to democracy."

THIS SHIFT TOWARD a loose authoritarianism revolving around a single figure is becoming a pattern across ASEAN. The Philippines—which, like Thailand, is a U.S. treaty ally—has moved firmly into China's orbit under populist President Rodrigo Duterte, who has been criticized by the West for his brutal drug war. In Myanmar, international censure regarding the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya minority rings hollow as Chinese investment floods into the military-dominated country. And the Beijing-backed government of Cambodia's Prime Minister Hun Sen has cracked down on opposition politicians and critics in recent months.

Historically, Thailand was something of an exception to the rule when it came to U.S. relations. The much-beloved King Bhumibol Adulyadej, who died in 2016, was born in Cambridge, Mass. In the 1950s and '60s, the country was a bulwark against the communist fervor sweeping Southeast Asia, and during the Vietnam War, Bangkok was a vital staging post for U.S. troops. In 1969, President Nixon paid tribute to the U.S.'s "deep spiritual and ideological ties" with Thailand.

The U.S. has since lost top trading-partner status to China. After Prayuth's coup, Washington suspended all nonessential official visits and one-third of U.S. aid to Thailand, condemning the intervention as having "no justification." China stayed silent.

'IF WE ALLOWED THEM TO DEMONSTRATE FREELY, IT MIGHT BECOME TOO DIFFICULT TO MOVE FORWARD TO DEMOCRACY.'
—Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha

The Thai leader leaves a Jan. 8 press conference, telling reporters to direct questions to a cardboard cutout

DAILY NEWS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Since then, military cooperation between Beijing and Bangkok has ramped up. Thailand has purchased 49 Chinese tanks and 34 armored vehicles worth over $320 million, plus three submarines at more than $1 billion. There are plans for a joint Sino-Thai commercial arms factory in the northeastern province of Khon Kaen. Beijing's $1 trillion Belt and Road Initiative—a trade and infrastructure network tracing the ancient Silk Road—stands to further boost its regional clout.

As a result, liberal democracy is increasingly no longer seen as the fastest route to prosperity. In Beijing, President Xi Jinping has ramped up censorship, purged opponents and removed presidential term limits, effectively letting him rule for life. That model looks appealing, especially when set against the chaos gripping Washington. "People see successes in authoritarian countries and so grow impatient with the messy democratic process," says former Thai Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva.

THE SHARP END of Prayuth's rule is felt most dramatically in the populous north and northeast, where Yingluck remains popular. Soldiers tear down pro-Yingluck posters and scold her supporters. "They even complained that I had dyed my hair red," says Yingluck supporter Paanoi Udomsri, 68, at the market stall where she sells peanut brittle.

Meanwhile, rising unemployment and the rolling back of assistance programs have hurt northerners like Suwanna Khanadham, who owns a canteen in Chiang Mai selling *khao soi,* or curry noodle soup. The price of palm oil has almost doubled and that of a single lime has soared from 15¢ to 40¢. "The soldiers don't have any vision for how to improve the country," complains Suwanna. "They only know how to control."

Prayuth's plan of a quasi-democracy guided by military generals relies on people like Suwanna not returning to the streets. "If we don't have elections in February, I think it will be the final straw," says Thida Thavornseth, leader of the Pro-Yingluck Red Shirt protest faction.

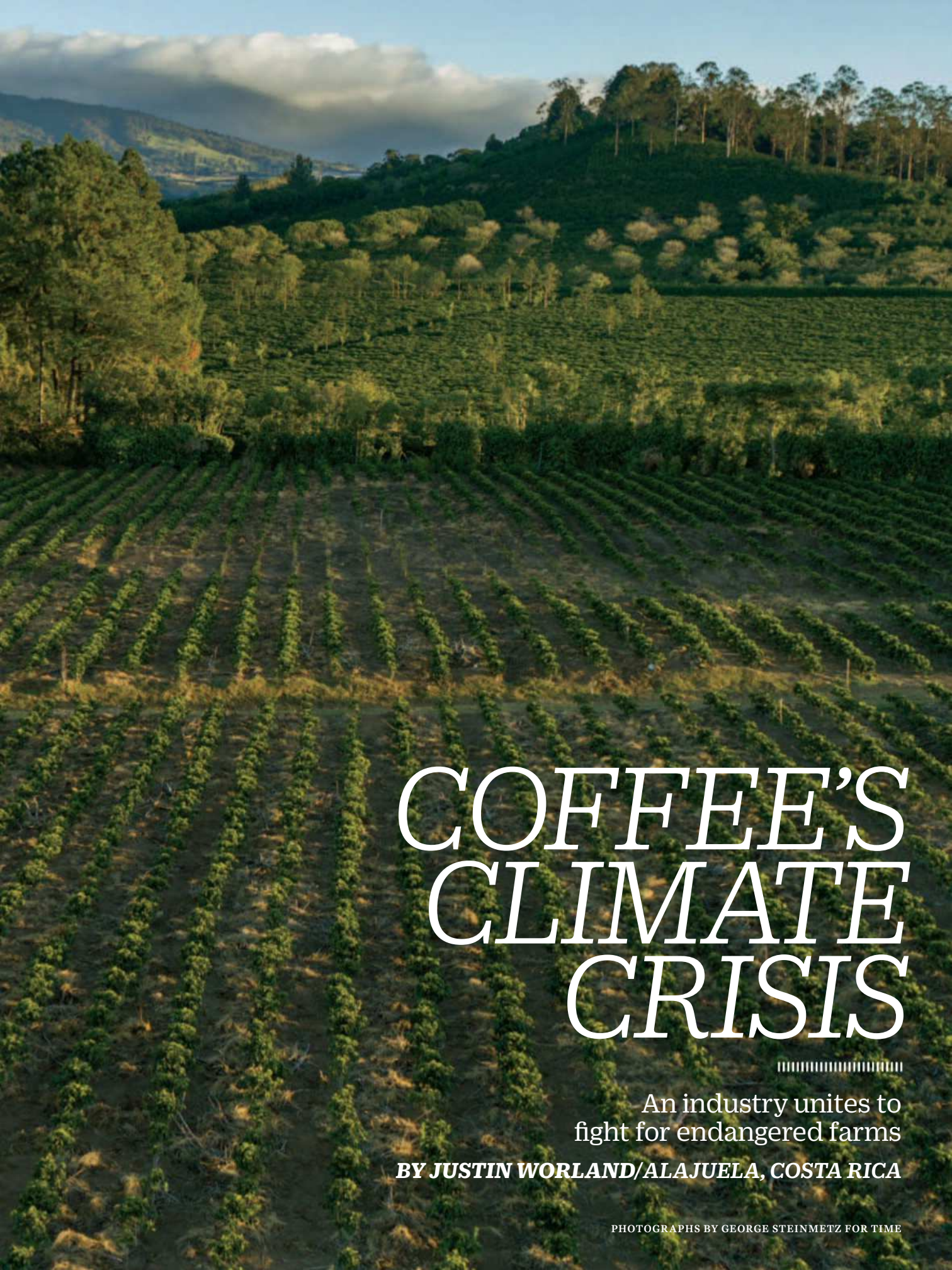
There are other signs that tensions may soon reach a critical point. Corruption allegations against junta brass hats have stoked public fury. Rubber farmers from Thailand's south, who supported the coup, feel betrayed that the junta has failed to prop up falling rubber prices. Others are enraged by crackdowns on land-rights protests. "When Prayuth comes on television, we just turn it off," says primary-school teacher Juraiporn Tapin, 61, sneering. "We all want rid of the military as soon as possible."

John Winyu, who hosts the satirical online show *Shallow News in Depth,* says that on social media young Thais are switching from fawning over K-pop stars to political griping, wielding the hashtag #WeWanttoVote. "People are starting to catch on that the soldiers will be here forever unless we do something," he says.

Prayuth, meanwhile, insists that his dictatorship is reluctant and temporary. "I never imagined becoming Prime Minister in this way," he says. "It was the hardest decision of my life." So he definitely won't stay in power past February? "That depends on the situation and the people," he says with a shrug. "I have no control over this." Millions of Thais feel the same way. —*With reporting by* FELIZ SOLOMON/BANGKOK ◻

Environment

Workers weed coffee plants at a Starbucks-owned coffee farm in Costa Rica, where climate change could damage the health of the industry



COFFEE'S CLIMATE CRISIS

An industry unites to fight for endangered farms

BY JUSTIN WORLAND/ALAJUELA, COSTA RICA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE STEINMETZ FOR TIME

Longtime Starbucks boss Howard Schultz brews a cup of coffee at the company's Costa Rican coffee farm

HOWARD SCHULTZ WANTS TO KNOW IF I drink coffee. The Starbucks boss is sitting on a balcony overlooking the company's leafy farm in the Costa Rican province of Alajuela, where I'm told the coffee—harvested and roasted on-site—is a must-try. Like more than 60% of Americans, I drink coffee at least once a day, and sometimes I indulge twice or even three times. The Costa Rican blend Schultz pours me has a special taste that mixes citrus and chocolate flavors.

But the future of my cup of Costa Rican Arabica is not guaranteed, Schultz says. After nearly four decades at Starbucks, he is leaving at the end of June, and in the role of executive chairman for almost 15 months, he has been looking past Starbucks' day-to-day operations to its long-term challenges and opportunities. Climate change ranks high among them. As temperatures rise and droughts intensify, good coffee will become increasingly difficult to grow and expensive to buy. Since governments are reacting slowly to the problem, companies like Starbucks have stepped in to save themselves, reaching to the bottom of their supply chains to ensure reliable access to their product. "Make no mistake," Schultz tells me, "climate change is going to play a bigger role in affecting the quality and integrity of coffee."

88%

Percentage of coffee-growing land in Latin America that may be unusable by 2050

This farm, with its verdant vistas and a trickling waterfall, seems far removed from the rising sea levels, blistering heat and destructive storms that characterize climate change. But global warming is exactly why Starbucks bought the 600-acre plot in 2013, and why Schultz makes the 3,500-mile trip from Seattle a few times a year as he has done on this March day. The farm is Starbucks' field laboratory into the threats posed to coffee by climate change and its testing facility for how it can adapt to the challenge. Schultz hopes that the research here will inform agricultural practices for millions of farmers across the globe, including the ones that supply the company. "We have to be in the soil, growing coffee, to understand first-hand how to rectify and fix the situation," he says.

Study after study has laid out the threat climate change poses to the coffee industry. Rising temperatures will bring drought, increase the range of diseases and kill large swaths of the insects that pollinate coffee plants. About half of the land around the world currently used to produce high-quality coffee could be unproductive by 2050, according to a recent study in the journal *Climatic Change*. Another paper, in the journal *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, suggests that that number could be as high as 88% in Latin America.

While rising temperatures have caught many industries flat-footed, coffee companies have responded in force, bolstering their presence on the ground in coffee-growing countries like Costa Rica, Ethiopia and Indonesia. Instead of just purchasing coffee, they work with small farms to help them adapt to changing conditions, providing seeds, monitoring production and suggesting new agricultural practices. "Everybody talks about climate, but the only sector that's actually doing something at scale is the coffee industry," M. Sanjayan, the CEO of Conservation International, tells me as we tour the Starbucks farm in Alajuela.

Not that the industry sees a choice. Declining supplies and a growing coffee-

drinking population mean climate change could turn a daily pick-me-up into a high-priced luxury, threatening the continued growth of the industry's customer base. Addressing that challenge was an important facet of Schultz's job in his final years at Starbucks. "It's not only about the environment," he says of his work on climate change. "It's also to procure high-quality coffee, to get the best possible yield, at the best possible price."

DURING OUR VISIT to the Starbucks farm, Schultz stops at the company's Costa Rican farmer support center. The structure is designed to accommodate crops brought in fresh from the field, but still maintains the gloss of a corporate office for the high-level executives who cycle through on occasion. Schultz greets Carlos Mario Rodriguez, director of global agronomy at Starbucks, with a big smile and a familiar handshake. In this building, Rodriguez meets with local farmers, offering them different seed varieties developed on-site and advising them on how to protect their yield in the face of a changing climate.

When he's not teaching planters, Rodriguez, the former head of Costa Rica's national coffee institute, spends his days among the coffee trees on the property, surveying experiments designed to develop the perfect coffee bean—one that can survive drought and heat while also meeting the company's quality standards. On the farm, he stops to show me one 4,300-sq.-ft. field where he says 50 new coffee varietals are being tested for their climate resilience as well as taste.

Rodriguez and his research are the vanguard of Starbucks' efforts to adapt. Beginning in 2013, Starbucks decided to invest in growing its footprint in coffee-producing countries. It now has support centers in nine countries—a number Schultz said could triple in the coming years—and a 10-year, $500 million investment fund that supports sustainability programs, such as adaptation training for farmers and testing new coffee varieties.

All this work on the ground in Costa Rica may sound obvious. Companies in sectors from energy to technology invest in research and development to better their products. But the coffee behemoth's focus on local farms represents a seismic shift. Selling coffee to consumers has always been a separate business from growing the beans. And because an estimated 25 million people farm coffee around the globe, big coffee companies have typically found suppliers in whichever place experienced a strong harvest that year. If one country's yield suffered, the companies simply looked elsewhere.

25 million

Number of coffee farmers around the globe

$500 million

Value of a Starbucks "green bond" offering, which targets climate change and other sustainability issues

But with climate change, that supply chain is no longer assured. Arabica coffee—the variety found at Starbucks, Dunkin' Donuts, McDonald's and pretty much every other American retailer—grows in a narrow region of the tropics known as the Coffee Belt, which stretches from Central America to sub-Saharan Africa to Asia. Conditions must be just right or a harvest is lost. In the past, some areas occasionally experienced off years because of a bad storm or a temperature fluctuation.

Researchers say that in the future such challenges will be constant. Farmers in some regions will be able to adapt by growing at higher elevations, but in others there is nowhere else to go. Entire regions risk becoming unable to continue producing Arabica coffee, and Schultz and others say there's no way to make the more resilient Robusta variety, which is sometimes blended with Arabica to make instant coffee, palatable to the broad coffee-drinking public.

Scientists also warn that climate change increases the likelihood of disease, including the dreaded *la roya,* or stem rust. That disease cut coffee production in Central America by about 15% in the 2012–13 growing year. Due in large part to rust, the price of a pound of coffee for consumers in the U.S. jumped roughly 33% between '11 and '13. "Climate change is good," says William Corrales Cruz, a small-coffee-farm owner in the Costa Rican region of Naranjo. "If you sell rust."

Starbucks says it is eager to share the lessons it learns about adaptive farming with coffee growers around the globe. For big coffee companies buying from a variety of small suppliers, the argument goes, there's no value in trying to gain a competitive advantage by hoarding trade secrets. Improving all coffee growers' ability to survive climate change benefits the entire industry, Schultz says. The company's network of farmer support centers distributes free seeds, teaches new adaptation methods and serves as a resource for farmers who are eager to learn how to adapt, regardless of whether they do business with Starbucks. "It may be hard for people to understand why we are sharing all this information," says Schultz. "If we don't, there's going to be tremendous adverse pressure on the coffee industry."

Starbucks will find plenty of interest in the results of its research. Dwindling supply is a big problem for an industry that projects global coffee demand to double by 2050, driven by population

increases and a growing coffee-addicted middle class in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. As a result, nearly every major coffee retailer is paying closer attention to the source of its beans than ever before. The companies whose products touch nearly every American household—think Starbucks, Keurig Green Mountain, J.M. Smucker and countless others—have installed themselves at the ground level of the coffee supply chain in a way unimaginable even a generation ago. Small farmers now interact directly with big-name coffee retailers after years of dealing with local traders only.

"In the beginning, it was scary," says Sara Bogantes Vargas, a regional coordinator for the industry-funded World Coffee Research (WCR), of the farmers' reaction to seeing the Starbucks farm in their backyard. But Bogantes Vargas says the planters quickly came to welcome the industry's help. WCR, for which Bogantes Vargas travels around Central America to meet with farmers, is a consortium supported by dozens of major coffee retailers, distributors and exporters. The institute pumps millions of dollars into lab research and coffee field trials every year.

The scale is enormous. WCR's $18 million coffee-monitoring program, for example, covers 1,100 farms in 20 countries. It includes on-the-ground training for farmers, technical assistance throughout the trials and supply-chain analysis. In each of those farms, located from Peru to Kenya, WCR has taken over a small portion of farmers' land for an experiment testing coffee varieties and various adaptive farming methods. WCR and partner agronomists plant different coffee hybrids, take soil samples and test techniques like planting trees for shade. Like the research conducted by Starbucks, the results will be shared with the public, WCR says.

Individual retailers have invested in fighting climate change's effect on their business as well. In El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, Keurig has funded a program to teach farmers how to implement new agricultural practices tailored for times when water availability is limited. The program is an integral piece of the nearly $10 million the company spends annually to support farmers. "When there are climate challenges in particular locations, we have the ability to source from other places," says Colleen Popkin, senior sustainability manager at Keurig. "Farmers don't have that flexibility … and those farmers are part of our long-term growth trajectory."

A worker fixes netting at a nursery that grows disease-resistant varieties of coffee in Bajo Corrales, Costa Rica

Illycaffè takes a similar approach through what the company has termed the University of Coffee, a program with some 30,000 participants around the world. The initiative began in 1999 in Italy as a forum for a range of coffee professionals from baristas to growers looking to improve their business, and since then has focused on helping farmers learn practices that will be sustainable in the face of a changing climate. The initiative trains thousands of farmers a year in more than 20 countries. Training farmers sits at the "very center of our strategy," says Andrea Illy, chairman of Illycaffè, who estimates that the coffee industry spends more than $100 million each year to adapt. But Illy says that number needs to multiply. "There is a huge gap," he says. "The best educated guess is that in order to adapt to climate change, we would need as an overall industry to invest something like $1 billion per year to rejuvenate plantations, develop

new varieties, improve equipment, even migrate some coffee plantations."

THE SWEET FRAGRANCE wafting through the air in the Costa Rican region of Naranjo, about 25 miles from the Starbucks farm, is unmistakable. Bogantes Vargas and I are walking through a large coffee farm an hour's drive from San José, the country's capital, looking at blossoming flowers on coffee trees. As sweet as it smells, the odor from the plants is also unsettling. It's early March, and the plants here should not bloom for weeks, Bogantes Vargas says. The harvest from a plant that blooms too early could be lost for an entire season.

In Costa Rica, farmers say climate change has already made it difficult to predict harvest conditions. "One year it's too short, one year it's too long," says Corrales Cruz of the rainy season. The nation's coffee industry is suffering as a result. Fifteen years ago the average coffee farm in Costa Rica produced about 14.5 bags of coffee per acre. Today that number is down to fewer than 10 bags per acre.

$1 billion

Necessary annual coffee-industry investment to address climate change, according to Illycaffè

It's a harbinger for the coffee industry, and a sign of the seriousness of its adaptation challenge: climate change is happening now, and it is happening fast. Remaking the complex system of trees, plants and wildlife that allow for coffee to thrive in a particular place takes careful consideration over an extended period of time. "Changes we make today," says Peter Läderach, a climate-change specialist at the Colombia-based International Center for Tropical Agriculture, "may only be yielding fruits in five or 10 years."

And no matter how much money the industry pumps into research, or how many boots companies put on the ground for retraining, the future of coffee remains at the mercy of a global population that continues to pump greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Average temperatures are expected to rise by more than 5.5°F by 2100 even if countries follow through on their commitments to reduce global warming, according to data from the U.N. Environmental Programme. That's far short of the U.N. goal of keeping temperature rise below 3.6°F.

All this has stark implications for the future of coffee. Which may be why Schultz, back at the Starbucks farm, segues unprompted into a discussion of government policy as we chat in a conference room overlooking the farm. He tells me that the U.S. needs to work to mitigate climate change and return to the Paris Agreement, which the Trump Administration announced in 2017 that it would leave. "We have to remove ourselves from the politics," he says, "and do everything we can to preserve and enhance our industry and our company." (Schultz, who is often discussed as a potential Democratic presidential candidate, stressed that he remains a private citizen despite at times sounding ready for the campaign trail.)

As we leave the Starbucks farm, Bogantes Vargas, the daughter of a coffee farmer, points out the old coffee plantations that have closed as a result of years of water shortages. Some have been converted into resort homes for foreigners. Others lie abandoned. The fields, lush in some places but brown in others, are a reminder that Schultz, the coffee industry and the authorities charged with stopping climate change need to move fast. ◻

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TimeOff

MAKING NICE Bebe Rexha and her peers are creating an era of collaboration in a genre known for competition

INSIDE

BEYONCÉ AND JAY-Z TAKE OVER THE LOUVRE —AND THE WORLD

A BRILLIANT NEW STAND-UP SPECIAL INTERROGATES THE NATURE OF COMEDY

THE DINOSAURS ARE NASTIER THAN EVER IN JURASSIC WORLD: FALLEN KINGDOM

PHOTOGRAPH BY RAMONA ROSALES

MUSIC

Pop finds a new spirit: sisterhood

By Raisa Bruner

BEBE REXHA'S DINNER PARTY IN Los Angeles wasn't necessarily meant to be a bold feminist statement. Rexha, a singer-songwriter who has penned songs for Rihanna and Selena Gomez and will release her debut album *Expectations* on June 22, just wanted to celebrate the female community she had struggled to find for years in an industry dominated by men behind the scenes—and by solo divas in the spotlight. "You never saw Britney [Spears] and Christina [Aguilera] hanging out, or Shakira and Britney, or Jessica Simpson," Rexha says.

But at her Women in Harmony dinner, Rexha and her peers—including pop experimentalist Charli XCX, up-and-coming singer Kim Petras and country breakout Kelsea Ballerini—were happy to make new friends and swap phone numbers. The evening testified to a paradigm shift for women in music: this is no longer a moment of divas duking it out for a sole spot atop the pyramid. Instead, rising female artists like Rexha are finding new power in banding together.

It's a recent change, a long time coming. "Women weren't coming together on their own," says Julie Greenwald, chairman and COO of Atlantic Records, about the ethos of past decades. She cites 2001's hit single "Lady Marmalade" as a rare example of an "event record" that brought together Aguilera, Lil' Kim, Mya and Pink on one song. Today, though, those kinds of crossovers happen all the time: Aguilera herself tapped Demi Lovato for her recent single "Fall in Line"; Swedish pop favorite Tove Lo brought in fellow women Charli XCX, Icona Pop, Elliphant and ALMA to appear on her latest release; and Rexha was looped in with rapper Cardi B and Charli XCX to feature on a recent collaboration with Rita Ora, aptly titled "Girls." According to Greenwald, the reason these features were once rare was due in part to a dearth of women in the marketplace to begin with: the explosion of music streaming has created more room for female artists to develop a following instead of fighting for limited airtime.

The other part, she says, comes down to consumer behavior. Instead of saving up to spend on one artist's album, a practice that inherently encourages competition, today's streaming model instead sees listeners paying a fixed price for access to unlimited catalogs. "It's not like one person can afford to buy just one CD," Greenwald says. "You pay one price for a month, and you can have all of the music, all of the time." To get more plays, then, it behooves artists to work together and expose themselves to each other's fan bases, neutralizing the old narratives of women competing with one another. "There's so much good that comes out of the collaboration," she says. "We all win."

'A lot of the girls are being warmer. I used to be more in my own lane—my own world. Now I feel a closeness.'

—BEBE REXHA

FOR REXHA, who grew up the daughter of Albanian immigrants on Staten Island and started songwriting by the time she was in her teens, the road to stardom was lonely—and mostly devoid of female mentorship. (She describes her early career as "all men, all the time.") But now, she says, that's finally changing. The energy of movements like #MeToo has cracked open the conversation about abusive practices within the industry and beyond, encouraging women to support each other more publicly. "It created this bond," Rexha says. "It's helping create this tighter-knit community, at least in my eyes. A lot of the girls are being warmer. I used to be more in my own lane—my own world. Now I feel a closeness."

Perhaps no other artist has been better at corralling different voices into working together than Charli XCX. A British pop artist behind global hits like "Boom Clap," Charli—born Charlotte Aitchison—is known for her punchy mixtapes, with tracks that feature diverse voices like the U.S.

Artists Tove Lo, left, and Charli XCX, who worked together on a song on the Pop 2 *mixtape, are some of collaborative pop's biggest proponents*

rapper CupcakKe, Nordic pop singers like ALMA and MØ, and Brazilian star Pabllo Vittar. "It's fun to build a community around the music you create," Aitchison says of her open-arms approach. "It's good to have so much strong female energy around." That energy has also translated into healthy streaming success, with her most recent mixtape *Pop 2* generating 60 million plays on Spotify alone. But Aitchison maintains she's not interested in strategic collaborations—she chooses these artists, she says, because they genuinely inspire her.

Tove Lo has also benefited from the benevolence in the air, and she echoes that it's not just about sales. In 2013, one of the Swedish singer's first releases caught the attention of the singer Lorde, who shared it on social media. That public shout-out was a prescient indication of the "supportive culture" that Tove Lo says she's found in the industry from her start, when she was mentored by famed producer Max Martin, lived and worked with fellow Swedes Icona Pop, and wrote for artists like Ellie Goulding and eventually Lorde. After featuring last year on Aitchison's *Pop 2,* Tove Lo was quick to return the favor. "I was like, 'This is so fun, why don't we do this more?'" she says about working with friends.

Or consider Hayley Kiyoko, a rising pop voice with a particularly strong following among queer women, thanks to her early single "Girls Like Girls." One of Kiyoko's closest friends in music is her fellow pop singer Kehlani, whom she first corresponded with on Instagram. "She had seen one of my posts and commented MARRY ME in all caps, and was giving me love," Kiyoko says. "We just started supporting each other." That turned into a memorable duet on Kiyoko's debut album.

This also reflects the way that social media has been an important engine of connections and public interactions. No longer do women have to fight for space in the pages of a magazine or onstage: they can show off their friendships and hatch partnership plans without record labels or the press playing the role of intermediary. Their narratives are theirs to share directly to their fans.

On the road, there's a broad trend emerging of women choosing women to accompany them onstage, like Taylor Swift's tapping Camila Cabello and Charli XCX for her *Reputation* stadium tour, or Lorde looking to Swedish singer Tove Styrke and indie favorite Mitski in hers. It's a marked shift: for Swift's blockbuster *1989* tour three years ago, her main openers were rock crooners Shawn Mendes and Vance Joy. "There is a feeling of 'Let me give back,'" Greenwald says, "because many of the bigger artists didn't have a female who could help pull them up." Now that they are in positions of power, their energy is being directed to help out the next generation. For her part, Rexha is eager to expand her Women in Harmony events; she imagines a songwriting camp and wants to mentor young artists, knowing how lonely the pursuit can be without a community to help you along.

IN THE NOTORIOUSLY cutthroat world of music media, much ink has been spilled on the so-called feuds between Jennifer Lopez and Mariah Carey, or Aguilera and Spears, or Katy Perry and Swift. But Swift accepted a literal olive branch from Perry this spring with little fuss, simply posting a photo of the gift to Instagram. Who has the time for catfights?

At a New York City show the week before her album launch, Rexha strides across a glitter-strewn stage in platform boots and a studded leather jacket, swishing long, peroxide blond hair. She always wanted to be a Britney or a Christina, Rexha admits to her rowdy audience. But growing up she knew she wasn't like them: not blond enough, not slim enough, not—as time went on—young enough. (She's 28 now.) But Rexha says she's finally O.K. letting go of those anxieties. She's part of a more supportive generation of artists, women who know they're more powerful together than apart. "This is a society that builds up this whole thing that we should be competitive," she says. "But deep down, we're all loving." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: AUGUST; TOVE LO AND CHARLI XCX: GETTY IMAGES

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Famous faces: Beyoncé and Jay-Z are joined by the Mona Lisa

MUSIC

Beyoncé and Jay-Z stay surprising

By Maura Johnston

LEAVE IT TO BEYONCÉ AND JAY-Z TO REDEFINE WHAT "pulling a Beyoncé" can be. On June 16, the pair headlined London Stadium as part of their joint On the Run II tour, and at the end of their career-spanning set, a message flashed on the screens: ALBUM OUT NOW. And there it was, on the home screen of the streaming platform Tidal (in which Jay-Z and Beyoncé have a significant stake): *Everything Is Love,* credited to the Carters, an exquisitely produced happy ending to the cheating-heart narrative that unspooled on Beyoncé's gravity-defying 2016 album *Lemonade* and Jay-Z's terse, personal 2017 release *4:44*.

Rumors that this power couple would someday release a joint album have long been grist for pop's mill. Last year Jay-Z told the New York *Times* that he and his wife had been using art "almost like a therapy session." This album was reportedly finished just a few hours before its splashy release, though its meticulous craft suggests otherwise. *Everything* recalls other blockbuster duets in R&B and hip-hop, like Marvin Gaye and Tammi Terrell's besotted soul sides as well as Method Man and Mary J. Blige's hip-hop-minded update of that pair's 1968 smash "You're All I Need to Get By," as it plays with public perceptions of the duo's relationship. Yet it incorporates too many of-the-moment elements to feel anything but timely: there are ad-libs from Georgia rap upstarts Migos, beats that take cues from the minimalist hip-hop subgenre trap and lyrical rebukes to the NFL for its controversial policy on kneeling and to the 2018 Grammys for its shutout of Jay-Z.

Everything opens with "Summer," a lush ballad that sounds tailor-made for song-of-the-summer status. It also sets the thematic, if not musical, tone for the rest of the album: Beyoncé and Jay-Z have weathered the storms of previous years and are ready to get back to the drunk-in-love business, shared plans and knocking the rest of the world on its heels with their success.

The Carters also released a music video for the song "Apeshit," shot in the Louvre

Over the course of *Everything*'s nine songs, the duo acknowledge bumps—subpoena-brandishing investigators, streaming services that don't share the wealth, shady friends—while remaining resilient and focused. Beyoncé's swagger-filled rapping is as dead-serious as it is delightful: her half-sung, half-rapped hook on "713" flaunts her mighty pipes and rhyming skills; her demands for "respeck on my check" on "Apesh-t" reframe the wage-gap issue in a radio-ready way; and her admonition of Spotify on the flinty, Pharrell-assisted "Nice" ends with a quote from the 1998 cult film *Half Baked* that's as unprintable as it is cheer-inducing. Jay-Z's boasts are also in ample supply as he shouts out sellout crowds and big-ticket brands. And in a continuation of the openness he exhibited on *4:44,* he pulls back the curtain on the couple's origin story on "713." On "Black Effect," he examines America's complex racial politics: "The Chitlin' Circuit is stopped/ Now we in stadiums," he declares, both calling back to the path black musicians had to take during the era of segregation and noting how he and his wife have reached music's highest echelons around the world.

Nearly two decades after their first meeting, Beyoncé and Jay-Z have ascended to celebrity's highest heights by playing it close to the vest. They're the masters of indulging the gossip-industrial complex's hunger for "the real story" while also holding on tight to whatever the actual story might be. But *Everything Is Love*'s melding of their struggles at home and successes in public, the old school and the next wave, and the soulful and the stubborn give away the real story. Years later, the Carters are still inspiring each other to push harder and aim higher as they salute their love of each other—and of their art. ◻

VIDEO: YOUTUBE

TELEVISION

Glow fades but stays fun in its second season

By Judy Berman

The women of Glow *throw down in the ring*

GLOW, NANETTE: NETFLIX; THE INCREDIBLES 2: DISNEY; GOTTI: BRIAN DOUGLAS; COSTNER: MAARTEN DE BOER—CONTOUR BY GETTY IMAGES

SUMMER TV ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE. With cable and streaming platforms airing prestige dramas long after the networks end their seasons, the warmer months have ceased to be reliable oases of light entertainment. That shift may explain why the women's wrestling comedy *Glow* felt so refreshing when it debuted on Netflix last June. Set in '80s-era Los Angeles and loosely based on the real Gorgeous Ladies of Wrestling, which found syndicated stardom during that decade, the show offered an underdog story, a feminist message and an ensemble as lively and diverse as the one executive producer Jenji Kohan assembled for her hit *Orange Is the New Black*. This recipe yielded an ideal summer sitcom, one fueled by lovable characters, neon costumes and campy staged matches in a bright-pink ring.

Happily, the show's cast is still irresistible in its uneven second season, which arrives on Netflix on June 29 and opens as the wrestlers and their crew prepare to go into production. No longer a broke, self-destructive wreck, actor Ruth Wilder (Alison Brie) is happily ensconced in her role as Soviet heel Zoya the Destroyer. Now it's her best friend turned rival Debbie Eagan (Betty Gilpin) who's in crisis, navigating a rough divorce. Overwhelmed by the pressure of helming a TV series while playing dad to a teenager (Britt Baron) he's just met, director Sam Sylvia (Marc Maron, whose gruff yet sensitive performance remains a highlight) picks up his old drug habit.

AS FUN AS THE CAST IS, the secondary characters' story lines are drawn sketchily. In one moving episode, Tammé Dawson (Kia Stevens) tells her son she's putting him through Stanford by wrestling as an offensive "welfare queen" caricature, but she mostly disappears for the remaining half of the season. Arthie (Sunita Mani), a shy South Asian student cast as an Arab terrorist, is desperate to shed the character that got her pelted with trash during *Glow*'s debut match. Instead of deepening this potentially rich conflict, though, the show twists Arthie's story in a different direction. And there's not much more to a new wrestler, Shakira Barrera's Yo-Yo, than her identity as a Mexican-American lesbian stripper.

Kohan famously used *Orange*'s white, middle-class lead as a Trojan horse, moving past her story to spotlight the lives of poor, nonwhite, LGBT and mentally ill women who are rarely depicted onscreen. *Glow* was heading in a similar direction by interrogating the way the entertainment industry sexualizes women and typecasts people of color. But with the exception of Tammé's brief story line, these new episodes mostly find relevance through Ruth's boilerplate #MeToo plot.

Glow's first season took the wrestlers from auditions to opening night, giving the show built-in momentum. Without that unifying arc, these new episodes aren't as addictive. Next season, maybe the writers won't leave so many wrestlers on the sidelines. □

What to stream now

By Mahita Gajanan

Nanette

The Australian comic Hannah Gadsby turns the very concept of comedy on its head in her sharp and provocative one-hour special *Nanette,* which arrived on Netflix on June 19. Rather than provide easy laughter at her own expense, Gadsby interrogates the self-deprecating nature of comedy, alternating between

POP CHART

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Disney/Pixar's *Incredibles 2* **broke the record for best animated movie opening** and had the biggest opening ever for a PG-rated film, earning $180 million in its first weekend.

The British royal family will celebrate its **first same-sex wedding** this summer when Queen Elizabeth's cousin Lord Ivar Mountbatten ties the knot with partner James Coyle.

LOVE IT

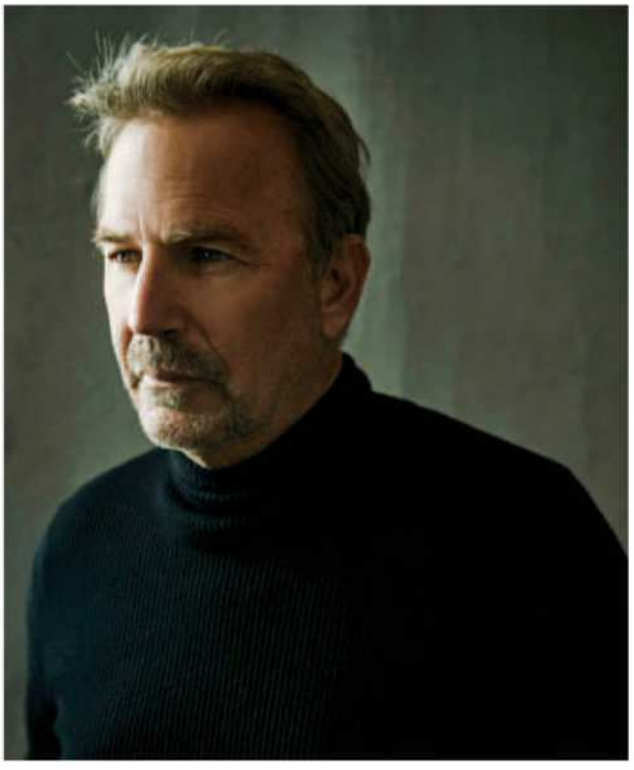
LEAVE IT

John Travolta's **mobster biopic *Gotti* earned a 0% rating on Rotten Tomatoes,** making it his third film to achieve the rare low score.

QUICK TALK

Kevin Costner

Costner stars in the new Paramount TV series Yellowstone *(June 20) from writer Taylor Sheridan* (Hell or High Water) *as John Dutton, the head of a massive ranch in Montana. Things get violent as the Dutton family struggles to protect its land from developers and a Native American reservation.*



How is *Yellowstone* different from other westerns you've made? It used to be if you were tough enough, mean enough, you created a ranch and nobody said anything about it. Now problems need to be arbitrated with lawyers. The modern-day rancher has to act like a CEO.

Is Dutton a moral character? He's involved in a murder, but he does it to protect his family, his way of life. He has the DNA of his predecessors. It's not always pretty, but I understand it.

The Duttons clash with a Native American reservation. How does the show deal with cultural tension? It's realistic. We see both sides, and there's no backing down. We've got guns pointed at each other. It doesn't mean we don't understand each other.

How does TV compare to film? I have always liked long form, even in movies. I like movies with an intermission. I like those aha moments you only get when you set up subplots. Some stories just need more time.

"WE'VE GOT GUNS POINTED AT EACH OTHER. IT DOESN'T MEAN WE DON'T UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER"

What makes a great western? Most westerns are not good. They understand the black hat and the white hat, but they don't get the dilemmas people moving across the country faced. A really good western creates a level of drama that's so random and absolute and violent that, in the dark, you measure yourself against the woman who survived out there and think, Would I have made it?

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

lighthearted jokes and bracingly serious honesty.

Comedy, as she explains, is all about setting up tension and then breaking it with a joke, and Gadsby is no longer interested in suppressing pain for the sake of an audience. Instead, she connects her experiences as a gay woman who was subjected to violence growing up in Tasmania, where homosexuality was outlawed until 1997, with the overarching culture that perpetuates cycles of abuse, weaving in takes on men like Bill Cosby and Woody Allen.

Many of Gadsby's bits, from a screed on the contradictions of the color blue to recounting how being mistaken for a man can be advantageous, are sure to draw a laugh. But it's her appeal to audience members that they allow her to tell her story in full—without leavening the mood by cracking a joke—that will leave viewers changed for the better. It makes for a special that's both sincerely funny and slyly shattering.

FROM DOWN UNDER

Gadsby earned fans from her appearances on fellow Aussie Josh Thomas' cult TV series *Please Like Me*

Chris Pratt, Bryce Dallas Howard and Isabella Sermon: when dinosaurs roamed the hallways

MOVIES

Dinosaurs endure, but only barely

By Stephanie Zacharek

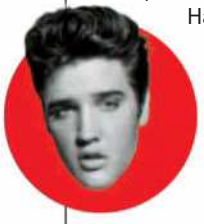
DINOSAURS ARE BAD! DINOSAURS ARE GOOD! DINOSAURS ARE good-bad! With *Jurassic World: Fallen Kingdom*—the fifth *Jurassic* movie and the follow-up to the 2015 *Jurassic World*—you can have it all ways, with mixed results.

Chris Pratt and Bryce Dallas Howard return as dino enthusiasts facing a new mission. An active volcano threatens to destroy Isla Nublar, home to the closed and disgraced Jurassic World theme park. That means all the dinosaurs—including the flying ones; the peaceful tree-munching ones; and the ones that look like they're perpetually running off to the market, carrying pocketbooks in their proportionately tiny hands—will at last go the way of the dinosaur. Some think this is just as it should be. But Pratt and Howard can't bear to see the dinos die, especially the sweetest, most intelligent velociraptor in the world, Blue, who was raised by Pratt from infancy. They accept an offer from a possible good guy (Rafe Spall) to rescue the creatures. But nothing is as it seems. Because is it ever?

Fallen Kingdom, directed by J.A. Bayona *(The Orphanage),* strives to be an environmental fable, a condemnation of corporate greed and a meditation on the possible disparity between God's will and man's, and it succeeds at those things as well as any slick, $170 million blockbuster can. But you've really come for the dinosaurs, haven't you? Some are lovely, some are underwhelming, and some are unconscious for most of the movie, which is disappointing. The dinosaur-evacuation scene is the most effective; one poor brachiosaurus doesn't make the cut, and he stands crying on the island's dock as smoke and molten lava engulf him. It's terrifically sad, but only for about two seconds, because then the movie is on to something else—its commitment to genuine emotion is of the hyperactive kind. *Fallen Kingdom* is so committed to thunderous spectacle that it fails to capture the poetry of these beasts in all their spiky, scaly, long-necked wonder. They deserve better. □

MOVIES

A requiem for a *King,* and for a country



He divides and unifies, he inspires joy and indifference. But does Elvis Presley still matter? In his stirring documentary *The King,* Eugene Jarecki takes to the road in Elvis' own 1963 Rolls-Royce to pose some version of that question to performers like Chuck D and Ethan Hawke, music critics like Greil Marcus and Peter Guralnick, and ordinary citizens living in Tupelo, Miss., the town where Elvis was born.

The King takes on the seemingly impossible task of parsing what Elvis means in the context of Trump's America, and just when you think Jarecki hasn't quite pulled it off, the movie's final minutes come at you like a lightning bolt. He sets a montage of clips from the mid–20th century and beyond—snapshots from the O.J. trial, from TV shows like *Barney,* from the Trump campaign—against Elvis' 1977 live recording of "Unchained Melody," made less than two months before he died. Perceptive, probing and ultimately devastating, *The King* is for anyone who cares about where this country has been and where it's headed. Time goes by so slowly, and time can do so much. —*S.Z.*

JURASSIC WORLD: UNIVERSAL; ELVIS: GETTY IMAGES; PAINTER: JOHN EMERSON

BOOKS

Portrait of the artist as an older lady

By Belinda Luscombe

LOTS OF FAMOUS people have turned to painting in their later years: Ringo Starr, Jim Carrey, George W. Bush. So it's not unusual that Nell Painter, an accomplished historian and Princeton professor with six books and a string of honors to her name, took up art in her 60s. What's surprising is that she went all the way back to art school.

The disadvantages of age are legion. The advantages are also considerable: respect, self-knowledge, mastery of a skill. Painter discards all of them, along with her "20th century eyes," as she writes in her new memoir, *Old in Art School.* In fact, her training in historical rigor and clarity prove to be handicaps in art, a discipline that requires, she finds, "letting go of coherence."

Painter, most famous for her book *The History of White People,* now addresses the equally ambitious question of what it takes to be an artist—and whether or not she has it. Many of the people she encounters (while dealing with ailing parents and finishing *White People*) don't believe she does. Having faced down the dismissal of women and African Americans in academia, Painter has little trouble persisting despite those naysayers, or feeling O.K. among her 20-something fellow MFA students. What comes as more of a shock to her is her own self-doubt.

As a historian might, Painter tries to pin down the essential qualities of an artist. Is it New York City gallery representation? Committed buyers? A certain look? A way of working? She doesn't arrive at a clear answer, but she chronicles, again as a historian might, the way studying art slowly changes her, how she learns "to look at what she sees" by studying technique.

If this book were a novel, the artist would have been exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art by now, but *Art School* arrives at a messier, braver conclusion. Painter is a painter because she studied it, works hard at it and keeps doing it. Being able to paint is one kind of gift, this book suggests, but learning to paint is another, and just as precious. ◻

It's all about process: Painter shows off her progress on the canvas

BOOKS

Home is where the hurt is

Sequestered in rural Sweden, Merry and Sam Hurley seem to be intent on carving out an idyllic life for their baby son Conor. At the start of Michelle Sacks' haunting novel *You Were Made for This,* the couple has recently left the hustle and bustle of New York City behind. But as they settle into their picture-perfect existence—her baking fresh pies and him pursuing promising new work—the rot beneath the surface of their tidy marriage begins to spread.

Merry, silently suffering from postpartum depression, whiles away the hours performing the wifely duties her husband expects her to master. Yet she struggles to curb the resentment she feels toward her child, sometimes crossing into violent territory. Sam, a serial cheater and bitter misogynist, hides the real reason they had to move: he was fired from his Columbia University professorship for having a sexual relationship with a student.

Sacks, who earned raves last year for her short-story collection *Stone Baby,* deftly engages the complexities of motherhood, infidelity and misconduct in this novel, her debut. But her storytelling shines most when Merry's alleged closest friend, Frank, arrives for a visit. Through the pair's toxic friendship, replete with jealousy and insecurities, Sacks explores the ways in which unhealthy relationships can wreak irrevocable damage on those involved—and everyone surrounding.

—Megan McCluskey

Barbra Streisand The icon reflects on a half-century in Hollywood, re-editing *A Star Is Born* and why she's not quite finished with her memoir yet

Six of your musical specials and a new cut of *A Star Is Born* just started streaming on Netflix. What does the newest special, *Barbra: The Music ... The Mem'ries ... The Magic!*, say about where you are now? It's looking back and trying also to do new things. There's lots of new things in me—specials, new songs I've never performed live. I can't see myself doing any more concerts, but you never know.

Why not? Because it's tough. When you record, you stand in the booth with headphones, and I have never gotten used to the things that performers wear [for live shows] today in their ears to give them that sound. I'm not fully there with the audience.

What do you think of Lady Gaga starring in a remake of *A Star Is Born*? I'm sure they'll have a hit. One can see all these versions. [For my re-edit] I put back the scene where I am a singer-songwriter. I thought, What the hell? Why would I have cut this out? I was really the producer as well, but I put myself in the last credits in the roll-up. It was like I was trying to fade away.

How do the different takes on that movie—from 1954, 1976 and 2018—reflect their times? It's a universal theme—one performer is going up, and the other is coming down—and it's a wonderful love story, how the man sacrifices for the woman. Usually it's the woman sacrificing for the man, like [in 1972's] *Up the Sandbox,* the first film from my own company. I was examining those times when I made that film. It was a big flop. Nobody wanted to see me as a housewife, and it had no singing.

***Yentl* also seems to reflect its times; you got the rights to the story of a girl who pretends to be a boy to get an education in 1968. How did the spirit of that year factor in?** Making *Yentl* was like a parallel story; a woman in a man's world. Gender discrimination made it so hard. It was like, "You want to direct it?" Directing was a male job.

"MAKING YENTL WAS LIKE A PARALLEL STORY; A WOMAN IN A MAN'S WORLD ... DIRECTING WAS A MALE JOB"

In your experience, did women in Hollywood talk about discrimination and #MeToo issues before it became a major movement? I don't think they did. They accepted the way it was, being used to getting hit on. There's going to have to be a new conversation [about] how women and men talk to each other. When I was doing *Yentl* and thinking, Why is it that women are subservient to men?, I thought this must have gone back to the caveman. He's grunting, he has his woman, and they screw—however you want to say that—and months later out comes another human. He's got to be completely in awe of her. I think he had to subjugate her in some way in order to feel more powerful.

In 1991, you said the "really big problem" in Hollywood was "women against other women." Is that still the case? It is still a problem. I have a close group of friends, and we are totally supportive. But there are other relationships that have to do with a power struggle. You have to acknowledge these feelings.

When you revealed this year that you cloned your dog, the story went viral. How did that feel? I got some flak from that, but I got a wonderful letter from the Pet Fund. They use that technique to do cancer research, so I felt better. You can't clone a soul. They look like Sammie, but they're not Sammie.

How's your memoir going? Very slowly. I've been doing this for 3½ years. My chapter on *A Star Is Born* is 50 pages long. When I want to talk in detail, it's *detail.* I was supposed to write it in two years. Well, I was just getting warmed up.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

TAYLOR HILL—GETTY IMAGES

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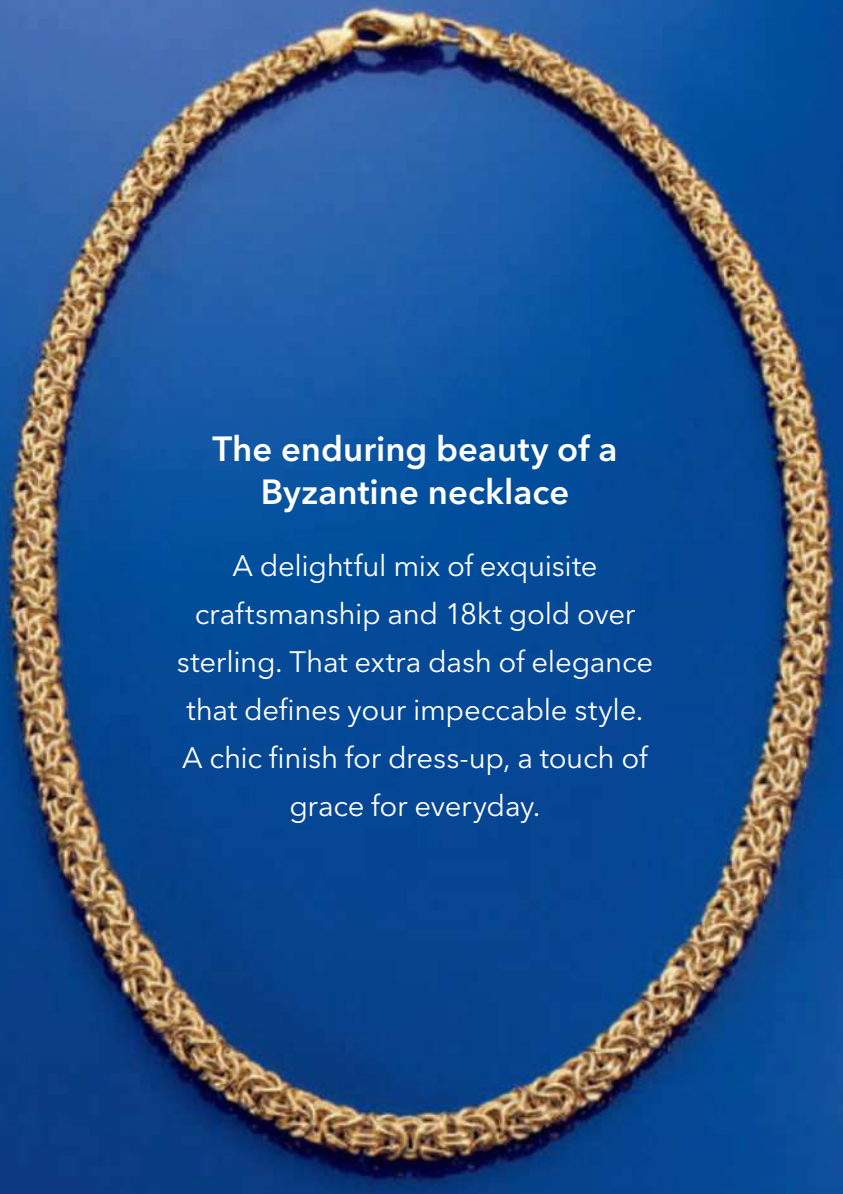

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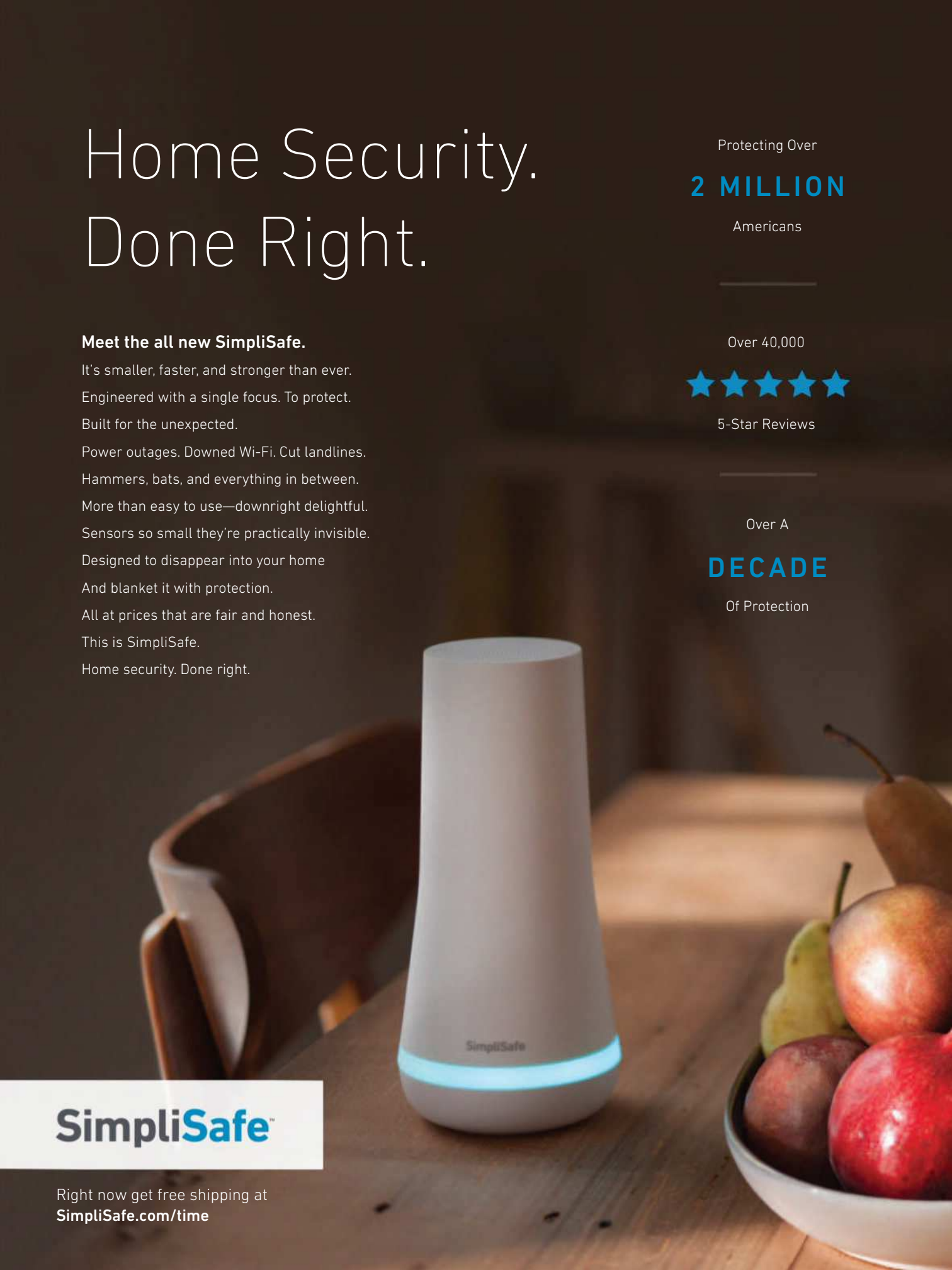

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